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SPEECH ON THE PUBLIC LANDS,

In the Senate of the United States.

When Mr. Webster concluded his first speech on the 20th, Mr. Benton followed with some remarks in reply to Mr. W. but as they were principally embodied in his more extended speech some days after, the remarks are omitted. On the day following, Mr. Hayne took the floor.]

Mr. HAYNE said, when he took occasion, two days ago, to throw out some ideas with respect to the policy of the Government, in relation to the public lands, nothing certainly could have been further from his thoughts, than that he should be compelled again to throw himself upon the indulgence of the Senate. Little did I expect, said Mr. H. to be called upon to meet such an argument as was yesterday urged by the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. Webster.] Sir, I questioned no man's opinions: I reached no man's motives: I charged no party, or section of country, with hostility to any other, but ventured, I thought, in a becoming spirit, to put forth my own sentiments in relation to a great national question of public policy. Such was my course. The gentleman from Missouri, [Mr. Benton] had, it is true, had charged upon the Eastern States an early and continued hostility towards the West, and referred to a number of historical facts and documents in support of that charge. Now, sir, how have these different arguments been met? The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, after deliberating a whole night upon his course, comes into this chamber to vindicate New England; and instead of making up his issue with the gentleman from Missouri, on the charges which *he had preferred*, chooses to consider me as the author of those charges, and loses sight entirely of that gentleman, selects me as the adversary, and pours out all the vials of his mighty wrath upon my devoted head. Nor is he willing to stop there. He goes on to assail the institutions and policy of the South, and calls in question the principles and conduct of the State which I have the honor to represent. When I find a gentleman of mature age and experience—of acknowledged talents, and profound sagacity, pursuing a course like this, declining the contest offered from the West, and making war upon the unoffending South, I must believe, I am bound to believe, he has some object in view that he has not ventured to disclose. Mr. President, why is this? Has the gentleman discovered a former controversies with the gentleman from Missouri, that he is overmatched by that Senator? And does he hope for an easy victory over a more feeble adversary? Has the gentleman's distempered fancy been disturbed by the gloomy forebodings of "new alliances to be formed," at which he hinted? Has the ghost of the murdered COALITION come back, like the ghost of Banquo, to "sear the eye-balls of the gentleman," and will it not "down at his bidding?" Are dark visions of broken hopes, and honors lost forever, still floating before his heated imagination? Sir, if it be his object to thrust me between the gentleman from Missouri and himself, in order to rescue the East from the contest it has provoked with the West, he shall not be gratified. Sir, I will not be dragged into the defence of my friend from Missouri. The South shall not be forced into a conflict not its own. The gentleman from Missouri is able to fight his own battles. The gallant West needs no aid from the South to repel any attack which may be made on them from any quarter. Let the gentleman from Massachusetts controvert the facts and arguments of the gentleman from Missouri, if he can—and if he win the victory, let him wear its honors: I shall not deprive him of his laurels.

The gentleman from Massachusetts, in reply to my remarks on the injurious operation of our land system on the prosperity of the West, pronounced an extravagant eulogium on the paternal care which the government had extended towards the west, to which he attributed all that was great and excellent in the present condition of the New States. The language of the gentleman on this topic, fell upon my ears like the almost forgotten tones of the tory leaders of the British Parliament, at the commencement of the American revolution. They, too, discovered that the Colonies had grown great under the fostering care of the Mother Country; and I must confess, while listening to the gentleman, I thought the appropriate reply to his argument was to be found in the remark of a celebrated orator, made on that occasion: "They have grown great in spite of your protection."

The gentleman, in commenting on the policy of the government, in relation to the new States, has introduced to our notice a certain *Nathan Dane*, of Massachusetts, to whom he attributes the celebrated ordinance of '87, by which he tells us, "*slavery* was forever excluded from the new States north of the Ohio." After eulogizing the wisdom of this provision, in terms of the most extravagant praise, he breaks forth in admiration of the greatness of Nathan Dane—and great indeed he must be, if it be true, as stated by the Senator from Massachusetts, that "he was greater than Solon & Lycurgus, Minos, Numa, Pompilius, and all the legislators and philosophers of the world," ancient and modern. Sir, to such high authority it is certainly my duty, in a becoming spirit of humility, to submit. And yet, the gentleman will pardon me, when I say, that it is a little unfortunate for the fame of this great legislator, that the gentleman from Missouri should have proved, that he was not the author of the ordinance of '87, on which the Senator from Massachusetts has reared so glorious a monument to his name. Sir, I doubt not the Senator will feel some compassion for our ignorance, when I tell him, that so little are we acquainted with the modern great men of N. England, that until he informed us yesterday that we possessed a Solon and a Lycurgus, in the person of Nathan Dane, he was only known to the South as a member of a celebrated assembly, called and known by the name of "the Hartford Convention," In the proceedings of that assembly, which I hold in my hand, (at page 19,) will be found in a few lines the history of Nathan Dane; and a little farther on, there is conclusive evidence of that ardent devotion to the interests of the new States, which it seems has given him a just claim to the title of "Father of the West." By the 2d resolution of the Hartford Convention, it is declared, "that it is expedient to attempt to make provision *for restraining Congress in the exercise of an unlimited power to make New States*, and admitting them into the Union." So much for Nathan Dane, of Beverly, Massachusetts.

In commenting upon my views in relation to the public lands, the gentleman insists, that it being one of the conditions of the grants, that these lands should be applied to "the common benefit of all the States, they must always remain *a fund for revenue;*" and adds, "they must be *treated as so much treasure.*" Sir, the gentleman could hardly find language strong enough, to convey his disapprobation of the policy which I had ventured to recommend to the favorable consideration of the country. And what, sir, was that policy, and what is the difference between that gentleman and myself, on this subject? I threw out the idea, that the public lands ought not to be reserved forever, as "a great fund for revenue;" that they ought not to be "treated as a great treasure;" but, that the course of our policy should rather be directed towards the creation of new States, and building up great and flourishing communities.

Now, Sir, will it be believed, by those who now hear me, and who listened to the gentleman's denunciation of my doctrines, yesterday, that a book then lay open before him—nay, that he held it in his hand, and read from it certain passages of his own speech, delivered to the House of Representatives in 18[illegible]5, in which speech he himself contended for the very doctrines I had advocated, and almost in the very terms? Here is the speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, contained in the 1st volume of Gales & Seaton's Register of Debates, (p. 251) delivered in the House of Representatives on the 18th Jan. 1825, in a debate on the *Cumberland Road*—the very debate from which the Senator read yesterday. I shall read from this celebrated speech two passages, from which it will appear that, both as to *the past*, and the *future policy* of the government in relation to the public lands, the gentleman from Massachusetts maintained, in 1825, substantially the same opinions which I have advanced; but, which he now so strongly repudiates. I said Sir, that the system of *credit sales* by which the West had been kept constantly in debt to the U. S., and by which their wealth was drained off to be expended elsewhere, had operated injuriously on their prosperity. On this point the gentleman from Massachusetts, in January, 1825, expressed himself thus: "There could be no doubt if gentlemen looked at the money received into the Treasury from the sale of the public lands to the West, and then looked to the whole amount expended by Government, (even including the whole amount of what was laid out for the Army)—the latter must be allowed to be very inconsiderable, and *there must be a constant drain of money from the West to pay for the public lands.* It might indeed be said that this was no more than the refluence of capital which had previously gone over the mountains. Be it so. Still its practical effect was to produce inconvenience, *if not distress, by absorbing the money of the people.*"

I contended that the public lands ought not to be treated merely as "a fund for revenue"—that they ought not to be hoarded "as a great treasure." On this point the Senator expressed himself thus: "Government, he believed, had received 18 or 20,000,000 of dollars from the public lands, and it was with the greatest satisfaction he adverted to the change which had been introduced in the mode of paying for them; *yet he could never think the national domain was to be regarded as any great source of revenue.* The great object of the government in respect to these lands, was not so much *the money derived from their sale*, as it was *the getting them settled.* What he meant to say was, *he did not think they ought to hug that domain* AS A GREAT TREASURE, *which was to enrich the Exchequer.*"

Now, Mr. President, it will be seen that the very doctrines which the gentleman so indignantly abjures were urged by him in 1825; and if I had actually borrowed my sentiments from those which he then avowed, I could not have followed more closely in his footsteps. Sir, it is only since the gentleman quoted this book, yesterday, that my attention has been turned to the sentiments he expressed in 1825, and, if I had remembered them, I might possibly have been deterred from uttering sentiments here, which it might well be supposed, I had borrowed from that gentleman.

In 1825, the gentleman told the world, that the public lands "ought not to be treated as a treasure." He now tells us, that "they must be treated as so much treasure." What the deliberate opinion of the gentleman on this subject may be, belongs not to me to determine: but I do not think he can, with the shadow of justice or propriety, impugn my sentiments, while his own recorded opinions are identical with my own. When the gentleman refers to the conditions of the grants under which the U. S. have acquired these lands, and insists that, as they are declared to be "for the common benefit of all the States," they can only be treated as so much treasure, I think he has applied a rule of construction too narrow for the case. If in the deeds of cession it has been declared that the grants were intended "for the common benefit of all the States," it is clear, from other provisions, that they were not intended merely as *so much property;* for it is expressly declared, that the object of the grants is the erection of new States; and the U. S. in accepting the trust, bind themselves to facilitate the foundation of these States, to be admitted into the Union with all the rights and privileges of the original States. This, sir, was the great end to which all parties looked, and it is by the fulfilment of this high trust, that "the common benefit of all the States" is to be best promoted. Sir, let me tell the gentleman, that in the part of the country in which I live, we do not measure political benefits by the *money standard.* We consider as more valuable than gold, liberty, principle, and justice. But sir, if we are bound to act on the narrow principles contended for by the gentleman, I am wholly at a loss to conceive how he can reconcile his principles with his own practice. The lands are, it seems, to be treated "as so much treasure," and must be applied to "the common benefit of all the States." Now, if this be so, whence does he derive the right to appropriate them for partial and local objects?—How can the gentleman consent to vote away immense bodies of these lands, for Canals in Indiana and Illinois, to the Louisville and Portland canal, to Kenyon College in Ohio, to Schools for the Deaf and Dumb, and other objects of a similar description? If grants of this character can fairly be considered as made "for the common benefit of all the States," it can only be, because all the States are interested in the welfare of each—a principle which, carried to the full extent, destroys all distinction between local and national objects; and is certainly *broad enough* to embrace the principles for which I have ventured to contend. Sir, the true difference between us, I take to be this: the gentleman wishes to treat the public lands as a great treasure, just as so much money in the Treasury, to be applied to all objects constitutional or unconstitutional, to which the public money is now constantly applied. I consider it as a sacred trust which we ought to fulfil, on the principles for which I have contended.

The Senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to present in strong contrast, the friendly feelings of the east towards the west, with sentiments of an opposite character displayed by the south in relation to appropriations for *Internal Improvement.* Now, sir, let it be recollected that the south have made no professions; I have certainly made none in their behalf, of regard for the west. It has been reserved to the gentleman from Massachusetts, while he vaunts his own personal devotion to western interests, to claim for the entire section of country to which he belongs, an ardent friendship for the west, as manifested by their support of the system of Internal Improvement, while he casts in our teeth the reproach, that the south has manifested hostility to western interests in opposing appropriations for such objects. That gentleman, at the same time, acknowledged that the south entertains *constitutional scruples* on this subject. Are we then, sir, to understand, that the gentleman considers it a just subject of reproach, that we respect our oaths, by which we are bound "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States?" Would the gentleman have us, manifest our love to the west, by trampling under foot our constitutional scruples? Does he not perceive, if the south is to *be reproached* with unkindness to the west, in voting against appropriations, which the gentleman admits, they could not vote for without doing violence to their constitutional opinions, that he exposes himself to the question: whether, if he was in our situation, he could vote for these appropriations regardless of his scruples? No, sir, I will not do the gentleman so great injustice. He has fallen into this error from not having duly weighed the force and effect of the reproach which he was endeavoring to cast upon the south. In relation to the other point, the friendship manifested by New England towards the west, in their support of the system of Internal Improvement, the gentleman will pardon me for saying, that I think he is equally unfortunate in having introduced that topic. As that gentleman has forced it upon us, however, I cannot suffer it to pass unnoticed. When the gentleman tells us that, the appropriations for Internal Improvement in the West, would, in almost every instance, have failed, but for New England votes, he has forgotten to tell us the *when* and *how* and the *wherefore*—this new born zeal for the west sprung up in the bosom of New England. If we look back only a few years, we will find, in both houses of Congress, an uniform and steady opposition, on the part of the members from the eastern States, generally to all appropriations of this character. At the time I became a member of this House, and for sometime afterwards, a decided majority of the New England Senators were opposed to the very measures which the Senator from Massachusetts tells us they now cordially support. Sir, the Journals are before me, and an examination of them will satisfy every gentleman of that fact.

It must be well known to every one whose experience dates back as far as 1825, that up to *a certain period* New England was generally opposed to appropriations for internal improvements in the West. The gentleman from Massachusetts may be himself an exception, but if he went for the system before 1825, it is certain that his colleagues did not go with him. In the session of 1824 and 25, however, (a memorable era in the history of this country,) a wonderful change took place in New England, in relation to Western interests. Sir, an extraordinary union of sympathies and of interests was then effected, which brought the East and the West into a close alliance. The book from which I have before read contains the first public annunciation of that happy reconciliation of conflicting interests, personal and political, which brought the East and West together, and locked in a fraternal embrace the two great orators of the East and the West. Sir, it was on the 18th January, 1825, while the result of the Presidential election, in the House of Representatives was still doubtful, while the whole country was looking with intense anxiety to that Legislative Hall, where the mighty drama was so soon to be acted, that we saw the leaders of two great parties in this House and in the nation, "taking sweet counsel together," and in a celebrated debate on the *Cumberland Road* fighting side by side for *western interests.* It was on that memorable occasion that the Senator from Massachusetts *held out the white flag to the West*, and uttered these liberal sentiments, which he, yesterday, so indignantly repudiated. Then it was, that the happy union, between the members of the celebrated *coalition*, was consummated, whose immediate fruit was a President from *one quarter of the Union* (in the succession, (as it was supposed) *secured to another.* The "American System," before a rude, disjointed and misshapened mass, now assumed form and consistency; The cry was, that it became "the settled policy of the Government," that this system should be so administered as to create a reciprocity of interests, and a reciprocal distribution of Government favors,—East and West, (the Tariff and Internal Improvements,) while the South—yes, Sir, the impracticable South was to be "out of your protection." The gentleman may boast as much as he pleases of the friendship of New England for the West, as displayed in their support of Internal Improvement—but, when he next produces that topic, I trust that he will tell us *when* that friendship commenced, *how* it was brought about, and *why* it was established? Before I leave this topic, I must be permitted to say, that the true character of the policy now submitted by the gentleman from Massachusetts and his friends, in relation to appropriations of land and money, for the benefit of the West, is in my estimation very similar to that pursued by Jacob of old towards his brother Esau—"it robs them of their birthright for a mess of pottage."

The gentleman from Massachusetts, in alluding to a remark of mine, that, before any disposition could be made of the public lands, the *National debt* (for which they stand pledged,) must be first paid, took occasion to intimate "that the *extraordinary fervor* which seems to exist in a *certain quarter* [meaning the South, sir] for the payment of the debt, arises from a disposition *to weaken the ties which bind the people to the Union.*" While the gentleman deals us this blow, he professes an ardent desire to see the debt speedily extinguished. He must excuse me, however, for feeling some distrust on that subject until I find this disposition manifested by something stronger than professions. I shall look for acts, decided and unequivocal acts; for the performance of which an opportunity will very soon, (if I am not greatly mistaken,) be afforded. Sir, if I were at liberty to judge of the course which that gentleman would pursue, from the principles which he has laid down in relation to this matter, I should be bound to conclude that, he will be found acting with those with whom it is a darling object to prevent the payment of the public debt. He tells us he is desirous of paying the debt 'because we are under *an obligation* to discharge it.' Now, sir, suppose it should happen that the public creditors, with whom we have contracted the obligation, should release us from it, so far as to declare their willingness to wait for payment for fifty years to come, provided only, the interest shall be punctually discharged. The gentleman from Massachusetts will then be released from the obligation which now makes him desirous of paying the debt; and, let me tell the gentleman, the holders of the stock will not only release us from this obligation, but they will implore, nay, they will even *pay us* not to pay them. But, adds the gentleman, "so far as the debt may have an effect in binding the debtors to the country, and thereby serving as a link to hold the States together, he would be glad that it should exist forever." Surely then, sir, on the gentleman's own principles he must be opposed to the payment of the debt.

Sir, let me tell that gentleman that the South repudiates the idea that a *pecuniary dependence* on the Federal Government is one of the legitimate means of holding the States together. A monied interest in the Government is essentially a *base interest;* and just so far as it operates to bind the feelings of those who are subjected to it, to the Government,—just so far as it operates in creating sympathies and interests that would not otherwise exist—is it opposed to all the principles of free government, and at war with virtue and patriotism. Sir, the link which binds the public creditors, *as such*, to their country, binds them equally to all governments, whether arbitrary or free. In a free government, this principle of abject dependence, if extended through all the ramifications of society, must be fatal to liberty. Already have we made alarming strides in that direction. The entire class of manufacturers, the holders of stocks, with their hundreds of millions of capital, are held to the Government by the strong link of *pecuniary interests;* millions of people—entire sections of country, interested, or believing themselves to be so, in the public lands, and the public treasure, are bound to the Government by the expectation of *pecuniary favors.* If this system is carried much further, no man can fail to see, that every generous motive of attachment to the country will be destroyed, and in its place will spring up those low, grovelling, base and selfish feelings which bind men to the footstool of a despot by bonds as strong and as enduring as those which attach them to free institutions. Sir, I would lay the foundation of this Government in the affections of the People—I would teach them to cling to it by dispensing equal justice, and above all, by securing the "blessings of liberty" to "themselves, and to their posterity."

The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, has gone out of his way, to pass a high eulogium on the state of OHIO. In the most impassioned tones of eloquence, he described her majestic march to greatness. He told us that having already left all the other States far behind, she was now passing by Virginia, and Pennsylvania, and about to take her station by the side of New York. To all this sir, I was disposed most cordially to respond. When, however, the gentleman proceeded to contrast the State of Ohio, with Kentucky, to the disadvantage of the latter, I listened to him with regret; and when he proceeded further to attribute the great, and as he supposed, acknowledged superiority of the former in population, wealth and general prosperity, to the policy of Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, which had secured to the people of Ohio, (by the Ordinance of 87,) *a population of freemen*, I will confess, that my feelings suffered a revulsion, which I am now unable to describe, in any language sufficiently respectful towards the gentleman from Massachusetts. In contrasting the State of Ohio, with Kentucky, for the purpose of pointing out *the superiority of the former*, and of attributing that superiority to *the existence of slavery*, in the one State, and its absence in the other, I thought I could discern *the very spirit of the Missouri question*, intruded into this debate, for objects best known to the gentleman himself. Did that gentleman, sir, when he formed the determination to cross the southern border, in order to invade the State of South Carolina, deem it prudent, or necessary, to enlist under his banners *the prejudices of the world*, which like *Swiss-troops* may be engaged in any cause, and are prepared to serve under any leader? Did he desire to avail himself of those remorseless allies, *the passions of mankind*, of which it may be more truly said, than of the savage tribes of the wilderness, "that their known rule of warfare is an indiscriminate slaughter of all ages, sexes, and conditions?" Or was it supposed, sir, that in a premeditated, and unprovoked attack upon the south, it was advisable to begin by a gentle admonition of *our supposed weakness*, in order to prevent us from making that firm and manly resistance, due to our own character, and our dearest interest? Was the *significant hint* of the *weakness of slave-holding States*, when contrasted with *the superior strength of free States*—like the glare of the weapon half drawn from the scabbard, intended to enforce the lessons of prudence and of patriotism, which the gentleman had resolved, out of his abundant generosity, gratuitously to bestow upon us? Mr. President, the impression which has gone abroad, of the *weakness of the South*, as connected with *the slave question*, exposes us to such constant attacks, has done us so much injury, and is calculated to produce such infinite mischiefs, that I embrace the occasion presented by the remarks of the gentleman of Massachusetts, to declare that we are ready to meet the question promptly, and fearlessly. It is one from which we are not disposed to shrink, in whatever form or under whatever circumstances it may be pressed upon us. We are ready to make up the issue with the gentleman, as to the influence of slavery on individual and national character—on the prosperity and greatness, either of the United States, or of particular States. Sir, when arraigned before the bar of public opinion, on this charge of slavery, we can stand up with conscious rectitude, plead not guilty, and put ourselves upon God and our country. Sir, we will not consent to look at slavery in the abstract. We will not stop to inquire whether the black man, as some philosophers have contended, is of an inferior race, nor whether his colour and condition are the effects of a curse inflicted for the offences of his ancestors. We deal in no *abstractions.*—We will not look back to inquire whether our Fathers were guiltless in introducing slaves into this country. If an inquiry should ever be instituted in these matters however, it will be found that the profits of the slave trade, were not confined to the South. Southern ships and Southern sailors were not the instruments of bringing slaves to the shores of America, nor did our merchants reap the profits of that "accursed traffic."

But, sir, we will pass over all this. If slavery, as it now exists in this country, be an evil, we of the present day *found it ready made to our hands.* Finding our lot cast among a people, whom God had manifestly committed to our care, we did not sit down to speculate on abstract questions of theoretical liberty. We met it as a practical question of *obligation* and *duty.* We resolved to make the best of the situation in which Providence had placed us, and to fulfil the high trust which had devolved upon us as the owners of slaves, in the only way in which such a trust could be fulfilled, without spreading misery and ruin throughout the land. We found that we had to deal with a people whose physical, moral and intellectual habits and character, totally disqualified them from the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. We could not send them back to the shores from whence their fathers had been taken; their numbers forbade the thought, even if we did not know that their condition here is infinitely preferable, to what it possibly could be among the barren sands, and savage tribes of Africa; and was wholly irreconcileable with all our notions of humanity to tear asunder the tender ties which they had formed among us, to gratify the feelings of a false philanthropy. What a commentary on the wisdom, justice, and humanity of the southern slave owner is presented by the example of certain benevolent associations and charitable individuals *elsewhere.* Shedding weak tears over suffering which had existence only in their own sickly imaginations, these "friends of humanity" set themselves systematically to work to seduce the slaves of the South from their masters. By means of missionaries and political tracts, the scheme was in a great measure successful. Thousands of these deluded victims of fanaticism were seduced into the enjoyment of freedom in our northern cities. And what has been the consequence? Go to these cities now, and ask the question. Visit the dark and narrow lanes, and obscure recesses which have been assigned by common consent as the abodes of those outcasts of the world—the free people of color. Sir, there does not exist, on the face of the whole earth a population so poor, so wretched, so vile, so loathsome, so utterly destitute of all the comforts, conveniences, and decencies of life, as the unfortunate blacks of Philadelphia, and New York, and Boston. Liberty has been to them the greatest of calamities, the heaviest of curses. Sir, I have had some opportunities of making comparisons between the condition of the free negroes of the North, and the slaves of the South, and the comparison has left not only an indelible impression of the superior advantages of the latter, but has gone far to reconcile me to slavery itself. Never have I felt so forcibly that touching description, "the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head," as when I have seen this unhappy race naked and houseless, almost starving in the streets and abandoned by all the world. Sir, I have seen in the neighborhood of one of the most moral, religious, and refined cities of the North, a family of free blacks, driven to the caves of the rock, and there obtaining a precarious subsistence from charity and plunder.

When the gentleman from Massachusetts, adopts and reiterates the old charge of weakness as resulting from slavery, I must be permitted to call for the proof of those blighting effects which he ascribes to its influence. I suspect that when the subject is closely examined, it will be found that there is not much force even in the plausible objection of the want of physical power in slave holding States. The power of a country is compounded of its population and its wealth, and in modern times, where, from the very form and structure of society, by far the greater portion of the people, must, even during the continuance of the most desolating wars, be employed in the cultivation of the soil, and other peaceful pursuits, it may be well doubted, whether slave holding States, by reason of the superior value of their productions, are not able to maintain a number of troops in the field, fully equal to what could be supported by States with a larger white population, but not possessed of equal resources.

It is a popular error, to suppose that in any possible state of things, the people of a country could ever be called out *en masse*, or that a half, or a third, or even a fifth part of the physical force of any country, could ever be brought into the field. The difficulty is not to procure men, but to procure *the means of maintaining them*, and in this view of the subject, it may be asked, whether the southern States are not a source of *strength* and *power*, and not of *weakness* to the country?—whether they have not contributed, and are not now contributing largely to the wealth and prosperity of every State in this Union? From a statement which I hold in my hand, it appears that in 10 years—from 1818 to 1827, inclusive—the whole amount of the domestic exports of the U. States was $521,811,043. Of which three articles, (*the product of slave labor,*) viz: Cotton, rice & tobacco, amounted to $339,203,232—equal *to about two thirds of the whole.* It is not true as has been supposed, that the advantages of this labor is confined almost exclusively to the Southern States. Sir, I am thoroughly convinced at this time, *the States North of the Potomac, actually derive greater profits from the labor of our slaves, than we do ourselves.* It appears from our public documents, that in 7 years, from 1821 to 1827 inclusive, the six southern States *exported* $190,337,281—and *imported* only $55,646,301. Now the difference between these two sums, (near $140,000,000,) *passed through the hands of the Northern merchants*, and enabled them to carry on their commercial operations with all the world. Such part of these goods as found its way back to our hands, came charged with the duties, as well as the profits of the merchant, the ship owner, and a host of others, who found employment in carrying on these immense exchanges, and for such part, as was consumed at the North, we received in exchange *Northern manufactures*, charged with an increased price, to cover all the taxes which the Northern consumer had been compelled to pay on the imported article. It will be seen therefore, at a glance, how much slave labor has contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the U. States, and how largely our Northern brethren have participated in the profits of that labor. Sir, on this subject I will quote an authority, which will, I doubt not, be considered by the Senator from Massachusetts as entitled to high respect. It is from the great Father of "the American System," *honest Mathew Cary*—no great friend it is true, at this time, to Southern rights and Southern interests, but not the worst authority on that account, *on the point in question.*

[Mr. H. here read an extract for M. Cary's Olive Branch, (p. 278,) in which it is said that the East, not satisfied with deriving its wealth from its commerce with the South, "have uniformly treated it with outrage, insult, and injury." That the separation contemplated by the Hartford Convention was "*pregnant with certain ruin*" to the East.]

Sir, (resumed Mr Hayne,) I wish it to be distinctly understood, that I do not adopt these sentiments as my own. I quote them to shew that very different sentiments have prevailed in former times, as to the weakness of the slave holding States, from those which now seem to have become fashionable in certain quarters. I know it has been supposed by certain ill-informed persons, that the South exists only by the countenance and protection of the North.—Sir, this is the idlest of all idle and ridiculous fancies that ever entered into the mind of man. In every State of this Union, except one, the free white population actually preponderates; while in the British West India Islands, (where the average white population is *less than ten per cent of the whole,*) the slaves are kept in entire subjection; it is preposterous to suppose that the Southern States could ever find the smallest difficulty in this respect. On this subject, as in all others, we ask nothing of our Northern brethren but to "let us alone." Leave us to the undisturbed management of our domestic concerns, and the direction of our own industry, and we will ask no more. Sir, all our difficulties on this subject have arisen from interference from abroad, which has disturbed, and may again disturb, our domestic tranquility, just so far as to bring down punishment upon the heads of the unfortunate victims of a fanatical and mistaken humanity.

There is *a spirit*, which, like the father of evil, is constantly "walking to and fro about the earth, seeking whom it may devour:" it is the spirit of FALSE PHILANTHROPY. The persons whom it possesses, do not indeed throw themselves into the flames, but they are employed in lighting up the torches of discord throughout the community. Their first principle of action is to leave their own affairs, and neglect their own duties, to regulate the affairs and the duties of others. Theirs is the task to feed the hungry & clothe the naked, of other lands, while they thrust the naked, famished, and shivering beggar from their own doors;—to instruct the heathen, while their own children want the bread of life. When this spirit infuses itself into the bosom of a statesman, (if one so possessed can be called a statesman,) it converts him at once into a visionary enthusiast. Then it is, that he indulges in golden dreams of national greatness and prosperity. He discovers that "liberty is power," and not content with vast schemes of improvement at home, which it would bankrupt the treasury of the world to execute, he flies to foreign lands, to fulfil obligations to "the human race," by inculcating the principles of "political and religious liberty," and promoting the 'general welfare' of the whole human race. It is a spirit which has long been busy with the *slaves of the South*, and is even now displaying itself in vain efforts to drive the government from its wise policy in relation to the *Indians.* It is this spirit which has filled the land with thousands of wild and visionary projects, which can have no effect but to waste the energies and dissipate the resources of the country. It is the spirit, of which the aspiring politician dexterously avails himself, when, by inscribing on his banner the magical words LIBERTY and PHILANTHROPY, he draws to his support that entire class of persons who are ready to bow down at the very names of their idols.

But, sir, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the effect of slavery on national wealth and prosperity, if we may trust to experience, there can be no doubt that it has never yet produced any injurious effect on *individual or national character.* Look through the whole history of the country, from the commencement of the Revolution down to the present hour; where are there to be found brighter examples of intellectual and moral greatness, than have been exhibited by the sons of the South? From the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, down to the DISTINGUISHED

CERTAIN, who has been elevated by a grateful people, to the highest office in their gift, the interval is filled up by a long line of orators, of statesmen, and of heroes, justly entitled to rank among the ornaments of their country, and the benefactors of mankind. Look at "the Old Dominion," great and magnanimous Virginia, "whose jewels are her sons." Is there any state in this Union which has contributed so much to the honor and welfare of the country? Sir, I will yield the whole question—I will acknowledge the fatal effects of slavery upon character, if any one can say, that for noble disinterestedness, ardent love of country, exalted virtue, and a pure and holy devotion to liberty, the people of the Southern States have ever been surpassed by any in the world. I know, sir, that this *devotion to liberty* has sometimes been supposed to be at war with our institutions; but it is in some degree the result of those very institutions. Burke, the most philosophical of statesmen, as he was the most accomplished of orators, well understood the operation of this principle, in elevating the sentiments and exalting the principles of the people in slave-holding States. I will conclude my remarks on this branch of the subject, by reading a few passages from his speech "on moving his resolutions for conciliation with the Colonies, the 22d of March, 1775.

[Burke asserts and argues, that where there are slaves, in any part of the world, "those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom," most ardently attached to liberty, &c.]

In the course of my former remarks, Mr. President, I took occasion to deprecate, as one of the greatest of evils, *the consolidation of this Government*. The gentleman takes alarm at the sound. '*Consolidation*,' like the "*Tariff*," grates upon his ear. He tells us, "we have heard much, of late, about consolidation—that it is the rallying word for all who are endeavoring *to weaken the Union* by adding to the power of the States." But consolidation, says the gentleman, was the very object for which the Union was formed; and in support of that opinion, he read a passage from the address of the President of the Convention to Congress (which he assumes to be authority on his side of the question). But, sir, the gentleman is mistaken. The object of the framers of the Constitution, as disclosed in that address, was not the *consolidation of the Government*, but "the consolidation of the Union." It was not to draw power from the States, in order to transfer it to a great National Government, but in the language of the Constitution itself, "to form a *more perfect Union*," and by what means? by "establishing justice," "promoting domestic tranquility," and "securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." This is the true reading of the Constitution. But, according to the gentleman's reading, the object of the Constitution was to *consolidate the government*, & the means would seem to be, the promotion of *injustice*, causing domestic *discord*, and depriving the States and the people "of the blessings of liberty" forever. The gentleman boasts of belonging to the party of NATIONAL REPUBLICANS! National Republicans!—a new name sir, for a very old thing. The National Republicans of the present day were the *Federalists* of '98, who became *Federal Republicans* during the war of 1812, and were *manufactured* into *National Republicans* somewhere about the year 1825. *As a party*, (by whatever name distinguished) they have always been animated by the same principles, and have kept steadily in view a common object—*the consolidation of the Government*.

Sir, the party to which I am proud of having belonged from the very commencement of my political life to the present day, were the *democrats* of '98, *anarchists, anti-federalists, revolutionists*, I think they were sometimes called. They assumed the name of *Democratic Republicans* in 1812, and have retained their name and their principles up to the present hour. True to their political faith, they have always, *as a party*, been in favor of *limitations of power;* they have insisted that all powers not delegated to the Federal Government are reserved, and have been constantly struggling, as they are now struggling, to preserve the rights of the States, and to prevent them from being drawn into the vortex and swallowed up by one great consolidated government. Sir, any one acquainted with the history of parties in this country will recognize in the points now in dispute between the Senator from Massachusetts and myself, the very grounds which have, from the beginning, divided the two great parties in this country, and which, (call these parties by what names you will, and *amalgamate* them as you may,) will divide them forever. The true distinction be ween those parties is laid down in a celebrated manifesto issued by the Convention of the Federalists of Massachusetts, assembled in Boston, in February 1824, on the occasion of organizing a party opposition to the re-election of Gov. Eustis. The gentleman will recognize this as "the Canonical Book of political scripture," and it instructs us, that "when the American Colonies redeemed themselves from British bondage, and became so many *independent nations*, they proposed to form a NATIONAL UNION," [not a *federal union*, sir, but a *national union*.] "Those who were in favor of a *union of the States in this form*, became known by the name of *federalists;* those who wanted no union of the States, or disliked the proposed form of union, became known by the name of *anti-federalists*. By means which need not be enumerated, the *anti-federalists* became, after the expiration of twelve years, our national rulers; and, for a period of sixteen years, until the close of Mr. Madison's administration in '17, continued to exercise the exclusive direction of our public affairs." Here, sir, is the true history of the origin, rise, and progress, of the party of *National Republicans*, who date back to the very origin of the government, and who, then as now, chose to consider the Constitution as having created not a *Federal* but a *National Union*, who regarded "consolidation" as no evil, and who doubtless consider it "a consummation devoutly to be wished," to build up a great "central government,"—"one and indivisible." Sir, there have existed in every age and every country, two distinct orders of men, *the lovers of freedom*, and the devoted *advocates of power*. The same great leading principles, modified only by peculiarities of manners, habits, and institutions—divided parties in the ancient republics, animated the *whigs* and *tories* of Great Britain, distinguished in our own times, the *liberals* and *ultras* of France, and may even be traced in the bloody struggles of unhappy Spain. Sir, when the gallant *Riego*, who devoted himself, and all that he possessed, to the liberties of his country, was dragged to the scaffold, followed by the tears and lamentations of every lover of freedom throughout the world, he perished amidst the deafening cries of "long live the absolute king." The people whom I represent, Mr. President, are the descendants of those who brought with them, to this country, as the most precious of their possessions, "an ardent love of liberty," and while that shall be preserved, they will always be found manfully struggling against *the consolidation of the Government*, AS THE WORST OF EVILS.

The Senator from Massachusetts, in alluding to the Tariff, becomes quite facetious. He tells us that "he hears of nothing but *Tariff, Tariff, Tariff*, and if a word could be found *to rhyme with it*, he presumes it would be celebrated in verse, and set to music." Sir, perhaps the gentleman, *in mockery of our complaints*, may be himself disposed to sing the praises of the Tariff in doggrel verse to the tune of "Old Hundred." I am not at all surprised, however, at the aversion of the gentleman to the very name of *Tariff*. I doubt not that it must always bring up some very unpleasant recollections to his mind. If I am not greatly mistaken, the Senator from Massachusetts was a leading actor at a great meeting got up in Boston in 1820, *against the Tariff*. It has generally been supposed that he drew up the resolutions adopted by that meeting, denouncing the Tariff system as unequal, oppressive, and unjust, and if I am not much mistaken *denying its constitutionality*. Certain it is, that the gentleman made a speech on that occasion in support of those resolutions, denouncing the system in no very measured terms, and if my memory serves me, *calling its constitutionality in question*. I regret that I have not been able to lay my hands on those proceedings, but I have seen them, and I cannot be mistaken in their character. At that time, Sir, the Senator from Massachusetts entertained the very sentiments in relation to the Tariff which the South now entertains. We next find the Senator from Massachusetts expressing his opinion on the Tariff as a member of the House of Representatives from the city of Boston in 1824. On that occasion, Sir, the gentleman assumed a position which commanded the respect and admiration of his country. He stood forth the powerful and fearless champion of *free trade*. He met in that conflict the advocates of restriction and monopoly, and they "fled from before his face."—With a profound sagacity, a fullness of knowledge, and a richness of illustration that has never been surpassed, he maintained and established the principles of commercial freedom on a foundation never to be shaken. Great indeed was the victory achieved by the gentleman on that occasion; most striking the contrast between the clear, forcible and convincing arguments by which he carried away the understandings of his hearers, and the narrow views and wretched sophistry of another distinguished orator, who may be truly said to have "held up his farthing candle to the Sun" Sir, the Senator from Massachusetts, on that, (the proudest day of his life,) like a mighty giant, bore away upon his shoulders the pillars of the temple of error and delusion, escaping himself unhurt, and leaving his adversaries overwhelmed in its ruins. Then it was that he erected to free trade a beautiful and enduring monument, and "inscribed the marble with his name." Mr President, it is with pain and regret that I now go forward to the next greatest era in the political life of that gentleman, when he was found on this floor, supporting, advocating and finally voting for the Tariff of 1828—that "bill of abominations." By that act, Sir, the Senator from Massachusetts has destroyed the labors of his whole life, and given a wound to the cause of free trade, never to be healed. Sir, when I recollect the position which that gentleman once occupied & that which he now holds in public estimation in relation to this subject, it is not at all surprising that the Tariff should be hateful to his ears. Sir, if I had erected to my own name so proud a monument as that which the gentleman built up in 1824, and I could have been tempted to destroy it with my own hands, I should hate the voice, that should ring "the accursed Tariff" in my ears. I doubt not the gentleman feels very much in relation to the Tariff as a certain Knight did to "instinct," and with him would be disposed to exclaim:

"Ah, no more of that Hal, an thou lov'st me."

But, Mr. President, to be serious, what are we, of the South, to think of what we have heard this day? The Senator from Massachusetts tells us that the tariff is not an Eastern measure, and treats it as if the East had no interest in it. The Senator from Missouri insists it is not a Western measure, and that it has done no good to the West. The South comes in, and in the most earnest manner represents to you, that this measure, which we are told "is of no value to the East or the West," is "utterly destructive of our interests." We represent to you, that it has spread ruin and devastation through the land, and prostrated our hopes in the dust. We solemnly declare, that we believe the system to be wholly unconstitutional, and a violation of the compact between the States and the Union, and our brethren turn a deaf ear to our complaints, and refuse to relieve us from a system "which not enriches them, but makes us poor indeed." Good God! Mr. Pressdent, has it come to this? Do gentlemen hold the feelings and wishes of their brethren at so cheap a rate, that they refuse to gratify them at so small a price? Do gentlemen value so lightly the peace and harmony of the country, that they will not yield a measure of this description to the affectionate entreaties and earnest remonstrances of their friends. Do gentlemen estimate the value of the Union at so low a price, that they will not even make one effort to bind the States together with the cords of affection? And has it come to this? Is this the spirit in which this Government is to be administered? If so, let me tell gentlemen the seeds of dissolution are already sown, and our children will reap the bitter fruit.

The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster,) while he exonerates me personally from the charge, intimates that there is a party in the country who are looking to disunion. Sir, if the gentleman had stopped there, the accusation would "have passed by me as the idle wind which I regard not." But, when he goes on to give to his accusation a local habitation, and a name, by quoting the expression of a distinguished citizen of South Carolina, (Dr. Cooper) "that it was time for the South to calculate the value of the Union," and in the language of the bitterest sarcasm, adds "surely then the Union cannot last longer than July, 1831."—it is impossible to mistake either the allusion or the object of the gentleman. Now, Mr. President, I call upon every one who hears me to bear witness, that this controversy is not of my seeking. The Senate will do me the justice to remember, that at the time this unprovoked and uncalled for attack was made upon the South, not one word had been uttered by me in disparagement of New England, nor had I made the most distant allusion, either to the Senator from Massachusetts, or the State he represents. But, sir, that gentleman has thought proper, for purposes best known to himself, to strike the South through me, the most unworthy of her servants. He has crossed the border, he has invaded the State of South Carolina, is making war upon her citizens, and endeavoring to overthrow her principles and her institutions. Sir, when the gentleman provokes me to such a conflict, I meet him at the threshhold. I will struggle while I have life, for our altars and our fire-sides, and if God gives me strength, I will drive back the invader discomfited. Nor shall I stop there. If the gentleman provokes the war, he shall have war. Sir, I will not stop at the border, I will carry the war into the enemies' territory, and not consent to lay down my arms, until I shall have obtained "indemnity for the past, and security for the future." It is with unfeigned reluctance, Mr. President, that I enter upon the performance of this part of my duty. I shrink almost instinctively from a course, however necessary, which may have a tendency to excite sectional feelings, and sectional jealousies. But, sir, the task has been forced upon me, and I proceed right onward to the performance of my duty; be the consequences what they may, the responsibility is with those, who have imposed upon me this necessity. The Senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to cast the first stone, and if he shall find, according to a homely adage "that he lives in a glass house"—on his head be the consequences. The gentleman has made a great flourish about his fidelity to Massachusetts. I shall make no professions of zeal for the interests and honor of South Carolina—of that my constituents shall judge. If there be one State in the Union, Mr. President, (and I say it not with a boastful spirit)—that may challenge comparison with any other for an uniform, zealous, ardent and *uncalculating devotion* to the Union, that State is South Carolina. Sir, from the very commencement of the Revolution, up to this hour, there is no sacrifice, however great, she has not cheerfully made; no service she has ever hesitated to perform. She has adhered to you in your pro perity, but in your adversity, she has clung to you with more than filial affection. No matter what was the condition of her domestic affairs, though deprived of her resources, divided by parties, or surrounded by difficulties, the call of the country has been to her as the voice of God.—Domestic discord ceased at the sound,—every man became at once reconciled to his brethren, and the sons of Carolina were all seen crowding together to the temple, bringing their gifts to the altar of their common country What sir, was the conduct of the South during the Revolution? Sir, I honor New England for her conduct in that glorious struggle. But great as is the praise which belongs to her, I think, at least equal honor is due to the South. They espoused the quarrel of their brethren, with a generous zeal, which did not suffer them to stop to calculate their interest in the dispute. Favorit of the mother country, possessed of neither ships nor seamen to create commercial rivalship, they might have found in their situation a guaranty, that their trade would be forever fostered and protected by Great Britain. But trampling on all considerations either of interest, or of safety, they rushed into the conflict, and, fighting for principle, periled all, in the sacred cause of freedom Never was there exhibited in the history of the world higher examples of noble daring, dreadful suffering and heroic endurance, than by the whigs of Carolina, during that Revolution. The whole State, from the mountains to the sea, was overrun by an overwhelming force of the enemy. The fruits of industry perished on the spot where they were produced, or were consumed by the foe. The "plains of Carolina" drank up the most precious blood of her citizens! Black and smoking ruins marked the places which had been the habitations of her children! Driven from their homes into the gloomy and almost impenetrable swamps, even there the spirit of liberty survived, and South Carolina (sustained by the example of her Sumters and her Marions,) proved, by her conduct, that tho' her soil might be overrun, the spirit of her people was invincible.

But, sir, our country was soon called upon to engage in another revolutionary struggle, and that too was a struggle for principle. I mean the political revolution which dates back to '98, and which, if it had not been successfully achieved, would have left us none of the fruits of the revolution of '76 The revolution of '98 restored the Constitution, rescued the liberty of the citizen from the grasp of those who were aiming at its life, and in the emphatic language of Mr. Jefferson, "saved the Constitution at its last gasp." And by whom was it achieved? By the South, sir, aided only by the democracy of the North and West.

I come now to the war of 1812, a war which I well remember was called in derision (while its event was doubtful) the Southern war, and sometimes the Carolina war; but which is now universally acknowledged to have done more for the honor and prosperity of the country, than all other events in our history put together. What, sir, were the objects of that war "Free trade and sailors rights!" It was for the protection of Northern shipping, and New England seamen, that the country flew to arms. What interest had the South in that contest? If hey had sat down coldly to calculate the value of their interests involved in it, they would have found that they had every thing to lose, and nothing to gain. But, sir, with that generous devotion to country so characteristic of the South, they only asked, if the rights of any portion of their fellow citizens had been invaded; and when told that Northern ships and New England seamen had been arrested on the common highway of nations, they felt that the honor of their country was assailed; and acting on that exalted sentiment "which feels a stain like a wound," they resolved to seek in open war, for a redress of those injuries which it did not become freemen to endure. Sir, the whole South, animated as by a common impulse, cordially united in declaring and promoting that war. South Carolina sent to your councils, as the advocates and supporters of that war, the noblest of her sons. How they fulfilled that trust, let a grateful country tell.—Not a measure was adopted, not a battle fought, not a victory won, which contributed in any degree, to the success of that war, to which Southern councils and Southern valor did not largely contribute. Sir, since South Carolina is assailed, I must be allowed to speak it to her praise, that at the very moment when in one quarter, we heard it solemnly proclaimed, "that it did not become a religious and moral people to rejoice at the victories of our Army or our Navy," her Legislature unanimously

"*Resolved*, That we will cordially support the Government in the vigorous prosecution of the war, until a peace can be obtained on honorable terms, and we will cheerfully submit to every privation that may be required of us, by our Government, for the accomplishment of this object."

South Carolina redeemed that pledge She threw open her Treasury to the Government. She put at the absolute disposal of the officers of the U. States all that she possessed—her men, her money, and her arms. She appropriated half a million of dollars, on her own account, in defence of her maritime frontier, ordered a brigade of State troops to be raised, and when left to protect herself by her own means, never suffered the enemy to touch her soil, without being instantly driven off or captured.

Such, sir, was the conduct of the South—such the conduct of my own State in that dark hour "which tried men's souls."

When I look back and contemplate the spectacle exhibited at that time, in another quarter of the Union, when I think of the conduct of certain portions of New England, and remember the part which was acted on that memorable occasion by the political associates of the gentleman from Massachusetts—nay, when I follow that gentleman into the councils of the nation, and listen to his voice during the darkest period of the war, I am indeed astonished that he should venture to touch upon the topics which he has introduced into this debate. South Carolina reproached by Massachusetts? And from whom does the accusation come? Not from the democracy of New England; for they have been in times past, as they are now, the friends and allies of the South. No, sir, the accusation comes from that party whose acts, during the most trying and eventful period of our national history, were of such a character, that their own Legislature, but a few years ago, actually blotted them out from their records, as a stain upon the honor of the country. But how can they ever be blotted out from the recollection of any one who had a heart to feel, and a mind to comprehend, and a memory to retain. the events of that day? Sir, I shall not attempt to write the history of the party in New England, to which I have alluded—the war party in peace, and the peace party in war. That task I shall leave to some future biographer of Nathan Dane, and I doubt not it will be found quite easy to prove that the peace party of Massachusetts were the only defenders of their country, during the war, and actually achieved all our victories by land and sea. In the mean time, sir, and until that history shall be written, I propose with the feeble and glimmering lights which I possess, to review the conduct of this party, in connection with the war, and the events which immediately preceded it.

It will be recollected, sir, that our great causes of quarrel with Great Britain, were her depredations on Northern commerce, and the impressment of New England seamen. From every quarter we were called upon for protection. Importunate as the West is now represented to be, on another subject, the importunity of the East on that occasion was far greater. I hold in my hands the evidence of the fact. Here are petitions, memorials, and remonstrances, from all parts of New England, setting forth the injustice, the oppressions, the depredations, the insults, the outrages, committed by Great Britain against the unoffending commerce and seamen of New England, and calling upon Congress for redress. Sir, I cannot stop to read these memorials

[Mr. H. went on to show how much the war was urged upon Congress by the East; and, after it was declared, how every obstacle was thrown in the way of a successful prosecution of it, by the people and States in that quarter. We omit this part of the speech with the less regret, because it consists chiefly of extracts from the Olive Branch, a work of very general circulation.]

Mr. President, I can go no further. The records of the day are full of such sentiments, issued from the press, spoken in public assemblies, poured out from the sacred desk! God forbid, Sir, that I should charge the people of Massachusetts, with participating in these sentiments. The South and the West had there, their friends,—men who stood by their country, though encompassed all around by their enemies. The Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. SILSBEE,) was one of them, the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. FOOT,) was another, and there are others now on this floor. The sentiments I have read, were the sentiments of a party embracing the political associates of the gentleman from Massachusetts. If they could only be found in the columns of a newspaper, in a few occasional pamphlets, issued by men of intemperate feeling, I should not consider them as affording any evidence of the opinions even of the peace party of New England. But, Sir, they were the common language of that day; they pervaded the whole land; they were issued from legislative halls—from the pulpit, and the press. Our books are full of them: And there is no man who now hears me, but knows, that they were the sentiments of a party, by whose members they were promulgated. Indeed, no evidence of this would seem to be required, beyond the fact that such sentiments found their way even into the pulpits of New England. What must be the state of public opinion, where any respectable clergyman would venture to preach, and to print sermons, containing the sentiments I have quoted I doubt not the piety, or moral worth of these gentlemen. I am told they were respectable and pious men But they were men, and they "kindled in a common blaze." And now, Sir, I must be suffered to remark, that at this awful and melancholy period of our national history, the gentleman from Massachusetts, who now manifests so great a devotion to the Union, and so much anxiety lest it should be endangered from the South, was "with his brethren in Israel." He saw all these things passing before his eyes—he heard these sentiments uttered all around him. I do not charge that gentleman with any participation in these acts, or with approving of these sentiments.

But I will ask why if he was animated by the same sentiments then, which he now professes, if he can "augur disunion at a distance, and snuff up rebellion in every tainted breeze," why did he not, at that day, exert his great talents and acknowledged influence, with the political associates by whom he was surrounded, (and who then as now looked up to him for guidance and direction,) in allaying this general excitement, in pointing out to his deluded friends the value of the Union, in instructing them, that, instead of looking, "to some prophet to lead them out from the land of Egypt," they should become reconciled to their brethren, and unite with them in the support of a just and necessary war? Sir, the gentleman must excuse me for saying, that if the records of our country, afforded any evidence that he had pursued such a course, that if we could find it recorded in the history of those times, that like the immortal Dexter, he had breasted that mighty torrent, which was sweeping before it all that was great and valuable in our political institutions, if like him he had stood by his country in opposition to his party, sir, we would like little children listen to his precepts and abide by his counsels.

As soon as the public mind was sufficiently prepared for the measure, the celebrated Hartford Convention was got up; not as the act of a few unauthorised individuals, but by authority of the Legislature of Massachusetts; and, as has been shewn by the able historian of that Convention, in accordance with the views and wishes of the party, of which it was the organ. Now, sir, I do not desire to call in question the motives of the gentlemen who composed that assembly: I know many of them to be in private life accomplished and honorable men, and I doubt not there were some among them who did not perceive the dangerous tendency of their proceedings. I will even go further and say, that if the authors of the Hartford Convention believed, that "gross, deliberate, and palpable violations of the Constitution" had taken place, utterly destructive of their rights and interests, I should be the last man to deny their right to resort to any constitutional measures for redress. But, sir, in any view of the case, the time when, and the circumstances under which that Convention assembled, as well as the measures recommended render their conduct, in my opinion, wholly indefensible. Let us contemplate, for a moment, the spectacle then exhibited to the view of the world. I will not go over the disasters of the war, nor describe the difficulties in which the Government was involved. It will be recollected that its credit was nearly gone, Washington had fallen, the whole coast was blockaded, and an immense force collected in the West Indies, was about to make a descent, which it was supposed we had no means of resisting. In this awful state of our public affairs, when the Government seemed almost to be tottering on its base, when Great Britain, relieved from all her other enemies, had proclaimed her purpose of "reducing us to unconditional submission"—we beheld the peace party of New England (in the language of the work before us,) pursuing a course calculated to do more injury to their country, and to render England more effective service, than all her armies."—Those who could not find it in their hearts to rejoice at our victories, sang Te Deum at the King's Chapel in Boston for the restoration of the Bourbons.—Those who could not consent to illuminate their dwellings for the capture of the Guerriere, could give visible tokens of their joy at the fall of Detroit. The "beacon fires" of their hills were lighted up, not for the encouragement of their friends, but as signals to the enemy; and in the gloomy hours of midnight, the very lights burned blue. Such were the dark and portentous signs of the times, which ushered into being the renowned Hartford Convention. That Convention met, and from their proceedings it appears, that their chief object was to keep back the men and money of New England from the service of the Union, and to effect radical changes in the Government—changes that can never be effected without a dissolution of the Union.

Let us now, sir, look at their proceedings. I read from "A short account of the Hartford Convention," (written by one of its members,) a very rare book, of which I was fortunate enough a few years ago to obtain a copy. [Here Mr. H. read from the proceedings.]

It is unnecessary to trace the matter farther, or to ask what would have been the next chapter in this history, if the measures recommended had been carried into effect; and if, with the men and money of New England withheld from the government of the United States, she had been withdrawn from the war; if New Orleans had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and if, without troops and almost destitute of money, the Southern and the Western States had been thrown upon their own resources for the prosecution of the war, and the recovery of New Orleans? Sir, whatever may have been the issue of the contest, the Union must have been dissolved. But a wise and just Providence, which "shapes our ends, rough hew them as we will," gave us the victory, and crowned our efforts with a glorious peace. The Ambassadors of Hartford were seen retracing their steps from Washington, "the bearers of glad tidings of great joy." Courage and patriotism triumphed—the country was saved—the union was preserved.—And are we Mr. President, who stood by our country then; who threw open our coffers; who bared our bosoms; who freely periled all in that conflict, to be reproached with want of attachment to the Union? If, sir, we are to have lessons of patriotism read to us, they must come from a different quarter. The Senator from Massachusetts, who is now so sensitive on all subjects connected with the Union, seems to have a memory forgetful of the political events that have passed away. I must, therefore, refresh his recollection a little farther on these subjects. The History of Disunion, has been written by one, whose authority stands too high with the American people to be questioned—I mean Thomas Jefferson—I know not how the gentleman may receive this authority. When that great and good man occupied the presidential chair, I believe he commanded no portion of that gentleman's respect.

I hold in my hand a celebrated pamphlet on the Embargo, in which language is held in relation to Mr. Jefferson which my respect for his memory will prevent me from reading—unless any gentleman should call for it. But the Senator from Massachusetts has since joined in singing hosanna's to his name—he has assisted at his apotheosis, and has fixed him as "a brilliant star in the clear upper sky" of [illegible] therefore, he is now prepared to receive with [illegible] ence and respect the high authority of Mr. J. [illegible] In the 4th volume of his Memoirs, which has [illegible] sued from the press, we have the following [illegible] disunion from the pen of that illustrious [illegible] "Mr. Adams called on me pending the Embargo [illegible] while endeavors were making to obtain its repeal [illegible] spoke of the dissatisfaction of the Eastern portion [illegible] our Confederacy with the restraints of the Embargo [illegible] then existing, and their restlessness under it. [illegible] there was nothing which might not be attempted [illegible] rid themselves of it. That he had information of [illegible] most unquestionable certainty, that certain [illegible] of the Eastern States, (I think he named Massachusetts particularly,) were in negociation with [illegible] of the British Government, the object of which [illegible] an agreement that the New England States should [illegible] take no further part in the war, (the commencement of [illegible] the "war of restrictions," as it was called [illegible] ing on, and that without formally declaring [illegible] separation from the Union, they should withhold [illegible] all aid and obedience to them, &c. From this [illegible] ment, says Mr. J., I saw the necessity of abandoning [illegible] it, [the embargo] and, instead of effecting our [illegible] pose by this peaceful weapon, we must fight [illegible] or break the Union." In another letter Mr. Jefferson adds: "I doubt whether a single fact known to the world, will carry as clear conviction of the correctness of our knowledge of the treasonable [illegible] of the federal party of that day, as that disclosed [illegible] this the most nefarious and daring attempt to sever the Union, of which the Hartford Convention [illegible] a subsequent chapter, and both of these having failed, Consolidation becomes the fourth chapter or next book of their history. But this opens with a vast accession of strength from their younger rivals, who having nothing in them of the feelings and principles of '76, now look to a single and splendid [illegible] vernment, &c., riding and ruling over the plough [illegible] ploughman and beggared yeomanry"—(4 vol. 422.)

The last chapter, says Mr. Jefferson, of that history is to be found in the conduct of those who are endeavoring to bring about consolidation: aye, sir, the very consolidation for which the gentleman from Massachusetts is contending—the exercise by the Federal Government, of powers not delegated in relation to "Internal Improvements," and "protection of manufactures." And why, sir, does Mr. Jefferson consider consolidation as leading directly to disunion? Because he knew that the exercise by the Federal Government, of the powers contended for, would make this "a Government without limitation of powers," the submission to which he considered as a greater evil than disunion itself. That is one chapter in this history, however, which Mr. Jefferson has not filled up, and I must therefore supply the deficiency. It is to be found in the [illegible] made by New England against the acquisition of Louisiana. In relation to that subject the New England doctrine is thus laid down by one of her learned [illegible] lytical doctors of that day, now a doctor of law, the head of the great literary institution of the State, I mean Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard College. I quote from the speech delivered by that gentleman on the floor of Congress, on the occasion of the admission of Louisiana into the Union.

"Mr. Quincy repeated and justified a remark he had made, which, to save all misapprehension, he had committed to writing, in the following words. If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion, that it is virtually a dissolution of the Union; that it will free the States from their moral obligation; and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must."

Mr. President, I wish to be distinctly understood that all the remarks I have made on this subject are intended to be exclusively applied to a party, which I have described as the "peace party of New England"—embracing the political associates of the Senator from Massachusetts—a party which condemned the operations of that State during the Embargo and the War, and who are justly chargeable with all the measures I have reprobated. Sir, nothing has been further from my thoughts than to impeach the character or conduct of the people of New England for their steady habits and hardy virtues, I trust I entertain a becoming respect. I fully subscribe to the truth of the description given before the Revolution by one whose praise is the highest eulogy, "that perseverance of Holland, the activity of France, and the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, have been more than equalled by this "recent people." Hardy, enterprising, sagacious, industrious, and moral, the people of New England of the present day, are worthy of their ancestors. Still, Mr. President, has it been my intention to say anything that could be construed into a want of respect for that party, who, trampling on all narrow, sectional feelings, have been true to their principles in the worst of times—I mean the Democracy of New England.

Sir, I will declare that highly as I appreciate the democracy of the South, I consider even higher praise to be due to the democracy of New England who have maintained their principles "through good and through evil report," who at every period of our national history have stood up manfully for their country, their whole country, and nothing but their country.' In the great political revolution of '98 they were found united with the democracy of the South, marching under the banner of the constitution, led on by the patriarch of liberty, in search of political promise, which they lived not only to behold, but to possess and to enjoy. Again, sir, in the darkest and most gloomy period of the war, when our country stood single handed, against "the combined or of the world,' when all about and around them was dark, and dreary, disastrous and discouraging, they stood a Spartan band in that narrow pass, where the honor of their country was to be defended, or to find its grave. And in the last great struggle involving, as we believe, the very existence of the principles of popular sovereignty, where were the democracy of New England? Where they always have been found sir, struggling side by side, with their brethren of the South & the West for popular rights, and assisting in that glorious triumph by which the man of the people, was elevated to the highest office in their gift.

Who then, Mr. President are the true friends of the Union? Those who would confine the Federal Government strictly within the limits prescribed by the Constitution; who would preserve to the States and People all powers not expressly delegated; who would make this a Federal and not a National Union, and who, administering the Government in a spirit of equal justice, would make it a blessing, and not a curse. And who are its enemies? Those who are in favour of consolidation—who are constantly stealing power from the States, and adding strength to the Federal Government. Who, assuming an unwarrantable jurisdiction over the States and the People, undertake to regulate the whole industry and capital of the country. But, sir, of all descriptions of men I consider those as the worst enemies of the Union, who sacrifice the equal rights which belong to every member of the Confederacy to combinations of interested majorities, for personal or political objects. But the gentleman apprehends no evil from the dependence of the States on the Federal Government; he can see no danger of corruption from the influence of money or of patronage. Sir, I know that it is supposed to be a wise saying "that patronage is a source of weakness," and in support of this maxim, it has been said, that "every ten appointments makes a hundred enemies." But I am not inclined to think, with the eloquent and sagacious orator now reposing on his laurels on the banks of the Roanoke, that "the power of conferring favours creates a crowd of dependents," he gave a forcible illustration of the truth of the remark, when he held up to us of the effect of holding up the savory morsel to the eager eyes of the hungry hounds gathered around his door. It mattered not whether the gift was [illegible] stowed on Towser or Sweetlips, "Tray, Blanch or Sweetheart," while held in suspense, they were [illegible]

governed by a nod, and when the morsel was bestowed, the expectation of the favours of to-morrow, kept up the subjection of to-day.

The Senator from Massachusetts, in denouncing what he is pleased to call the Carolina doctrine, has attempted to throw ridicule upon the idea that a State has any constitutional remedy, by the exercise of its sovereign authority, against "a gross, palpable, and deliberate violation of the Constitution." He calls it "an idle" or "a ridiculous notion," or something to that effect, and added, that it would make the Union "a mere rope of sand." Now, sir, as the gentleman has not condescended to enter into any examination of the question, and has been satisfied with throwing the weight of his authority into the scale, I do not deem it necessary to do more than to throw into the opposite scale the authority on which South Carolina relies, and there for the present, I am perfectly willing to leave the controversy. The South Carolina doctrine, that is to say, the doctrine contained in an exposition reported by a committee of the Legislature in December, 1828, and published by their authority, is the good old Republican doctrine of '98—the doctrine of the celebrated "Virginia Resolutions" of that year, and of "Madison's Report of '99.

[Mr. H. here read extracts from these documents, and from the celebrated Kentucky resolutions, and from Mr. Jefferson's correspondence. He then resumed:]

Such, sir, are the high and imposing authorities in support of "the Carolina doctrine," which is in fact the doctrine of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798.

Sir, at that day the whole country was divided on this very question. It formed the line of demarcation between the federal and republican parties, and the great political revolution, which then took place, turned upon the very question involved in these resolutions. That question was decided by the people, and by that decision the Constitution was, in the emphatic language of Mr. Jefferson, "saved at its last gasp." I should suppose, sir, it would require more self respect than any gentleman here would be willing to assume, to treat lightly doctrines derived from such high sources. Resting on authority like this, I will ask gentlemen, whether South Carolina has not manifested a high regard for the Union, when under a tyranny ten times more grievous than the alien and sedition laws, she has hitherto gone no further than to petition, remonstrate, and solemnly to protest against a series of measures which she believes to be wholly unconstitutional and utterly destructive of her interests. Sir, South Carolina has not gone one step further than Mr. Jefferson himself was disposed to go, in relation to the very subject of our present complaints—not a step further than the statesmen from New England were disposed to go under similar circumstances; no further than the Senator from Massachusetts himself once considered as within "the limits of a constitutional opposition." The doctrine that it is the right of a State to judge of the violations of the Constitution on the part of the Federal Government, and to protect her citizens from the operations of unconstitutional laws, was held by the enlightened citizens of Boston, who assembled in Faneuil Hall, on the 25th January, 1809. They state, in that celebrated memorial, that "they looked only to the State Legislature, who were competent to devise relief against the unconstitutional acts of the General Government. That your power (say they) is adequate to that object is evident from the organization of the confederacy."

A distinguished Senator from one of the New England States [Mr. HILLHOUSE] in a speech delivered here, on a bill for enforcing the embargo, declared—"I feel myself bound in conscience to declare (lest the blood of those who shall fall in the execution of this measure shall be on my head) that I consider this to be an act which directs a mortal blow at the liberties of my country—an act containing unconstitutional provisions, to which the People are not bound to submit, and to which, in my opinion, they will not submit."

And the Senator from Massachusetts, himself, in a speech delivered on the same subject in the other House, said, "This opposition is constitutional and legal; it is also conscientious. It rests on settled and sober conviction, that such policy is destructive to the interests of the People, and dangerous to the being of the Government. The experience of every day confirms these sentiments. Men who act from such motives are not to be discouraged by trifling obstacles nor awed by any dangers. They know the limit of constitutional opposition; up to that limit, at their own discretion, they will walk, and walk fearlessly." How "the being of the Government" was to be endangered by "constitutional opposition" to the embargo, I leave to the gentleman to explain.

Thus, it will be seen, Mr President, that the South Carolina doctrine is the Republican doctrine of '98; that it was first promulgated by the fathers of the faith—that it was maintained by Virginia and Kentucky in the worst of times—that it constituted the very pivot on which the political revolution of that day turned—that it embraces the very principles, the triumph of which at that time, saved the Constitution at its last gasp, and which New England Statesmen were not unwilling to adopt, when they believed themselves to be the victims of unconstitutional legislation. Sir, as to the doctrine that the Federal Government is the exclusive judge of the extent, as well as the limitations of its powers, it seems to me to be utterly subversive of the sovereignty and independence of the States. It makes but little difference, in my estimation, whether Congress or the Supreme Court are invested with this power. If the Federal Government, in all, or any of its departments, are to prescribe the limits of its own authority, and the States are bound to submit to the decision, and are not to be allowed to examine and decide for themselves, when the barriers of the Constitution shall be overleaped, this is practically "a Government without limitation of powers." The States are at once reduced to mere petty corporations, and the people are entirely at your mercy. I have but one word more to add. In all the efforts that have been made by South Carolina, to resist the unconstitutional laws which Congress has extended over them, she has kept steadily in view the preservation of the Union, by the only means by which she believes it can be long preserved—a firm, manly, and steady resistance against usurpation. The measures of the Federal Government have, it is true, prostrated her interests, and will soon involve the whole South in irretrievable ruin But even this evil, great as it is, is not the chief ground of our complaints. It is the principle involved in the contest, a principle, which substituting the discretion of Congress for the limitations of the Constitution, brings the States and the People to the feet of the Federal Government, and leaves them nothing they can call their own. Sir, if the measures of the Federal Government, were less oppressive, we should still strive against this usurpation. The South is acting on a principle she has always held sacred—resistance to unauthorized taxation. These, Sir, are the principles which induced the immortal Hampden to resist the payment of a tax of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined his fortune?—No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle on which it was demanded, would have made him a slave. Sir, if in acting on these high motives—if animated by that ardent love of liberty which has always been the most prominent trait in the Southern character—we should be hurried beyond the bounds of a cold and calculating prudence, who is there, with one noble and generous sentiment in his bosom, that would not be disposed, in the language of Burke, to exclaim, "You must pardon something to the spirit of Liberty!"

It is stated that Gov. Houston, who, as has been mentioned, is now at Washington, has abandoned entirely his assumption of the Indian costume and habits, and mingles in social intercourse and gaiety as freely as formerly.

CONGRESS.

IN SENATE.

Monday, Feb. 15.

The day was chiefly spent with closed doors, on Executive business.

Most of Tuesday and Wednesday were spent in the same way.

Thursday, Feb. 18.

Mr. Hayne laid on the table a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, covering a plan for a Naval Peace Establishment. [It proposes to create one Vice Admiral and two Rear Admirals, and to reduce the number of the other grades to the following: 30 Capts. 30 Masters Comdt., 200 Lieuts., 400 Midshipmen, &c. It also fixes their pay, &c.]

The Senate again took up Mr. Foot's resolution, on which Mr. Holmes of Maine spoke until the Senate adjourned.

Friday, Feb. 19.

After some other business, Mr. Holmes concluded his speech, and Mr. Noble of Indiana followed. Adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, Feb. 15.

Amongst the numerous petitions presented to the House this morning, was one by Mr. Mercer, from James Monroe, late President of the U. States, for a settlement of his claims against the government, for services and expenditures in the public service abroad, which, on motion of Mr. Archer, was referred to a select committee.

Another of the petitions presented, was one by Mr. Goodenow, from the ladies of Steubenville, Ohio, against the forcible removal of the Indians beyond the limits of the United States.

Wednesday, Feb. 17.

The bill for the relief of the widows &c. of the officers and crew of the Hornet, after being opposed by Messrs. Speight and Test, and supported by Messrs. Dorsey, Storrs, A. H. Shepherd, Hoffman, Ellsworth and Everett, was passed, 138 votes to 42.

Friday, Feb. 20.

Mr. Alston, from the Committee on Elections, reported in favor of the right of George Loyall to the seat of Thomas Newton, Representative from Norfolk district, Virginia.

Mr. Hemphill, from the committee on Internal Improvements, reported a bill authorising a subscription to the stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company, to the amount of $350,000.

He also reported a bill authorising a subscription of $300,000 to the S. Carolina Canal and Rail Road Company.

Washington, Feb. 17.

Among the memorials (one hundred and fifty in number) presented in the House of Representatives on Monday last, was one by Mr. Hawkins, from the inhabitants of the county of Niagara, in the State of New York, praying that a survey may be ordered, with a view to ascertain the practicability of cutting a Canal around the Falls of Niagara, sufficient for boat and sloop navigation.

Arrival of Mr. Poinsett.—We are pleased to learn from our attentive correspondent of the New Orleans *Bee*, that the Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Mexico, arrived at New Orleans on the 2d inst. Mr. Poinsett, with J. Mason, jr, Secretary of Legation, Count Lillieres of France, W. H. Keating of Philadelphia, G. Fisher of Mississippi, Messrs. Francke and Mareck of Germany, and Duncan of New York, arrived at the Balize on the 1st inst in the United States ship *Falmouth*, Commodore Elliott, from Tampico.

Nothing had been heard of the *Hornet*, when the *Falmouth* left Tampico.

IMPORTANT FROM MEXICO.

The annexed important information from Mexico has been received by a very respectable mercantile house of Philadelphia, from their correspondents at Vera Cruz. The revolution effected is a military one; what particular aspect and spirit it may give to the Government, we are unable to say. We do not share in the confidence which it is believed to have inspired.—*Nat. Gaz.*

Extract of a letter dated Vera Cruz, 9th January.

"We have great pleasure in announcing that the affair of General Bustamente is entirely concluded; the plan formed by the Vice President (Bustamente) has completely succeeded, and the whole country has declared in his favor, after an insignificant opposition in the capital. He has taken the reins until a new President shall be appointed. We now hope every thing will go well for sometime; those at the head of the Government inspire a good deal of confidence. Guerrero and Santa Anna have both retired to their haciendas (estates); they have been completely forsaken."

New Orleans.—Here are we (says the Louisiana Advertiser) on this 17th of January, seated at our desk, the windows open, and the thermometer at our elbow at 62; having just returned from a morning stroll through the city under a clear blue sky and unclouded sun. We took the vegetable market in our way, and for our amusement noted down the following articles, which amongst numerous other items of the vegetable world unknown to us, met our eyes in great abundance: Green Peas, Spinach, Asparagus, Celery, Cauliflowers, Cabbage, Sorrel, Leeks, Parsley, Thyme, Sage, Lettuce, Mustard, Cresses, and Marjoram. Of roots: Yams, Sweet and Irish Potatoes, Onions, Turnips, Carrots, Parsnips, Garlick, white, red and black, Radishes and Beets, besides Sugar Cane. No hot-bed upstarts these; but all produced in the open air. What say you to this, merry men of New England? Was not this a land worth defending?

There are 769 students now attached to the University of Pennsylvania: of whom 394 are in the Medical Department (exclusive of twenty graduates who continue to attend the lectures,) 97 in the collegiate, 120 in the grammar, and 158 in the charity schools.—*Philadelphia Advertiser.*

OBSERVER.

FAYETTEVILLE:

THURSDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 25, 1830.

As *every body* is anxious to read the debate which lately took place in the Senate, (of which so much has been said,) we have encroached upon our advertising and miscellaneous departments, for the purpose of presenting the speech of Mr. Hayne entire, with the exception of some of the long extracts from books and pamphlets, which we are obliged to omit for want of room. It is a most eloquent speech, and will afford a rich treat to our readers. The reply of Mr. Webster, usually called his "great speech," has not yet appeared. We shall endeavor to republish that also, and then expect to have done with this debate, which, says the National Intelligencer, is still going on, with undiminished interest, as is testified by the crowded lobbies and galleries of the Senate.

It is but just to say, that we copy these speeches from the National Intelligencer.

Monday last, the 98th anniversary of Washington's Birth, was celebrated in this town by the different Uniform Corps, parading and firing National salutes; and in the evening by a Ball at the Lafayette Hotel.

Robbery.—The Store of Mr. Lewis Brown was robbed on Monday night last, of a few articles of little value, by a negro who is supposed to have secreted himself in the store until it was closed for the night. He made his escape without the goods.

A meeting of the Stockholders of the Newbern Bank is to be held on the 15th of April, to consider the expediency of accepting the extended charter, &c.

The U. S. Senate has lately spent much of its time with closed doors, on Executive business, from which it is presumed that debate has arisen on the question of confirming some of the Executive nominations. The National Intelligencer says that it is rumored and believed, that the nomination of Mr. Williams to be Collector of the port of New Bedford, vice Russell Freeman, removed, has been *rejected*, by a vote of 34 to 11.

It is also rumored, but not upon so good authority, that the nomination of Henry Lee, as Consul General to Algiers, has likewise been rejected.

A number of nominations of Collectors &c. are officially announced as having been confirmed.

North Carolina Silk.—A correspondent in Surry county writes to us as follows: "Last week I had the pleasure of purchasing 155 skeins of sewing silk, a product of this county. It is said to be superior to any imported silk, used in our country; of which superiority I have little doubt. This was but a small remnant of what was manufactured by the young ladies of whom I had it, during the last season. They have not only acquired the art of rearing the worms, and winding and twisting the silk, but also that of giving to it different and beautiful colours. In order to encourage these young ladies in their laudable pursuit, I have engaged to give them a liberal price for all their silk the ensuing season."

A Lesson for short Memories.—Under this appropriate head, the Charleston Courier states, that at the session of Congress of 1817-18, after many days' discussion, the House of Representatives adopted, by a vote of 90 to 75, a resolution declaring "that Congress has power, under the Constitution, to appropriate money for the construction of Post Roads, Military and other Roads, and Canals, and for the improvement of water courses." Of the S. C. Delegation, Messrs. LOWNDES, Middleton, Irvin and Simkins, voted for, and Messrs. Bellinger, Earle, and Tucker, against the Resolution. Of the Georgia delegation, Messrs. Forsyth, Abbott, J. Crawford, and Terrell, for, and Messrs. Cobb and Cook against it. We wonder what has transformed this *constitutional* policy into so UN-*constitutional* a policy, that some of the hot-heads of South Carolina should now be ready to resist it even unto blood, and to dissolve the union, rather than submit to it. Every day convinces us more and more, that the spirit of *party* will work any thing in man but honesty. He who follows its dictates must bid adieu to consistency, relinquish many of his cherished opinions, swallow the most monstrous absurdities, pull down right and set up wrong; in a word, he must hesitate at nothing. And all for what? For the *public good*, of course,—which means, the good of some ambitious man, or set of men.

Foreign.—By arrivals at Annapolis and Charleston, Liverpool accounts to the 8th and Havre to the 13th Jan'y, have been received. They are almost destitute of interest.

The sales of cotton at Liverpool during the week ending on the 7th, were only 7000 bags. The Mercury of the 8th states that prices had declined 1-8d. per lb.

The last quarterly returns of the British revenue had just been made up, and exhibited a deficiency of £332,786—making the decrease of the whole year 1829, £1,165,449. This deficiency is not more than was expected under all the circumstances of the country. The Customs show an improvement of £62,654; on every other item there is a decrease. In the Excise there is a deficiency of £154,306; on Stamps £60,057; Post Office £20,000; Taxes £9,320; Miscellaneous £151,757.

Bells Weekly Messenger of the 4th says—"The state of our unemployed poor in many of the agricultural districts, is truly horrible; and in manufacturing towns, owing to the severity of the season, and the general check which trade has sustained in all branches, the misery and distress which are endured surpass every thing of the kind ever known in England. The farmers are too poor to employ that abundant population which the cultivation of the land used formerly to demand; —now the poor and the poor rates equally hang as a dead weight on the farmers' profits and occupation."

We learn from the Charleston Mercury, received last night, that on Sunday last, the splendid Mansion belonging to the estate of Izard, and occupied by the Hon. James Hamilton, Jun. was entirely destroyed by fire. This house was one of the greatest ornaments to the city, and was insured for $25,000.

A Naval and a Military Court Martial are now sitting in Washington City, and a Military Court Martial in Philadelphia, all for the trial of officers. We are sorry to see it.

We are happy to state, there has been no new case of the Small Pox for the last ten days. Vaccine matter has deen received, and the town is submitting to a general course of vaccination. The few cases, confined to the blacks, are doing well. We have good cause to hope, that the further progress of the contagion is effectually checked.

Newbern Spectator.

A rare sight.—The carcases of two hogs were brought to town on Saturday last, both dressed for market. One, a three year-old, weighed 499 lbs; and the other, a two year-old weighed 539. They were raised by Mr. Benjamin Best Jr. at the Big Bridge, ten miles from town.—*Wilmington Recorder.*

Fire.—On Thursday last, between 11 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon, the range of wooden buildings, consisting of five houses, on the south side of Market street and East of the Episcopal Church was burnt to the ground. The fire originated at the dwelling house of Samuel Langdon Esq.—*Wilm. Recorder.*

The Supreme Court rose on Monday last. Its adjournment, we regret to state, was hastened a few days, in consequence of the dangerous indisposition of a member of Judge Henderson's family, which called him home. We hope to publish in our next, a list of the cases decided.—*Raleigh Register.*

Public Convenience.—We have heretofore omitted to announce to the public, that the enterprising contractors of the main Northern and Southern mail line, from Petersburg to Fayetteville, on the 1st inst. commenced running a Stage, three times a week, to and from this place to Halifax. On or about the 1st of January, they commenced running a similar stage from Halifax to Murfreesborough, where it intersects Mr. Thomson's Fayetteville and Norfolk line; we can therefore congratulate the farmers and planters living on the waters of the Roanoke and its various tributary streams, as well as the public in general, upon the facility thus afforded them of a direct, speedy and cheap convevance, from Danville, Va. to Norfolk.—*Warrenton Reporter.*

Large Turnip.—We were presented the other day with a turnip, grown on the plantation of Mr. William Mebane, of this county, which weighed nearly ten pounds, and measured in circumference two feet two and a half inches. While our fields can be made to produce such turnips as this, we think there is little occasion for our farmers to seek homes in the west.

Hillsborough Recorder.

Something new under the Sun.—Mr. Silvanus Miller, who holds the office of public administrator of New York, has laid before the city authority, a communication in which he states, that the salary allowed by the revised statutes, for his office, is quite too large.

Asking a small favour.—A few days since, as one of the Eastern steamboats was about leaving the wharf, a passenger was asked to take charge of a letter to a friend in Boston. He did so, very readily, and others having the like favours to ask, applied to him in their turn. In a very accommodating manner, he accepted the additional charge, and soon had his pockets filled with letters. Others, emboldened by the readiness with which he undertook these little errands, applied to take charge of larger and more weighty articles—such as packages of wedding cake, patterns of the newest fashions, and such like matters, which, with the greatest good nature in the world, were also taken charge of by the accommodating passenger. "Wont you be kind enough," said a gentleman, "just to put this shawl in your pocket, and leave at Mrs. Such-a-one's in Providence?" "Shall I trouble you," said another, "to take charge of this pine apple, and hand it to my wife? I promised to send her one, and wish you would be particular to deliver it into her own hands. I'm sorry to trouble you sir, but"—. He was now interrupted by a wag, who seeing the disposition to impose upon good nature, bawled out, "Mister, I regret exceedingly to trouble you, but if your pockets are not full, you would oblige me very much, by taking charge of a "*barrel of flour.*"

New York Constellation.

Tight Lacing—The evils of this habit are becoming so common and apparent, that it is the duty of the press to notice them. It is hoped our fair readers will seriously consider the following melancholy example:—Dr. H. Alden, of Chautauque county, has made a public statement, that the death of Miss Minerva W**** lately, in that county, was occasioned by very tight lacing. On examining the dead body, the heart, lungs, liver, &c. were found crowded out of their natural places, which produced a disease of these parts, and finally occasioned her death. Dr. Ryan, an attendant physician in this case, has added the following to Dr. Alden's statement:

I concur in the above statement, and, from an acquaintance of several years with the subject of the narrative, I am convinced that the cause of her death was wholly produced by tight lacing.

Ripley, Jan. 5, 1830. A. RYAN.

MARRIED,

In this vicinity, on Thursday evening last, by the Rev. B. L. Hoskins, Mr. JAMES G. COOK, merchant, to Miss ANNABELLA, eldest daughter of John Murchison Esq., of this place.

DIED,

In Granville county, on the 15th inst., in the 19th year of his age, RICH'D B. HENDERSON, youngest son of the Hon. Leonard Henderson, Chief Justice of the State.

PORT OF WILMINGTON.

ARRIVED, up to Feb. 17, Brigs Miles Standish from New York; Carryall from Boston, James from St. Thomas, Amstill from Newport, French brig Bon Mere from Gaudaloupe, French ship Hercule from Gaudaloupe, Schrs. Governor Parris from New York, Only Son from Lisbon, Magnet from New York, Hussar from Charleston, Mary from Martinique, Presid't Boyer from Jeremie, Sloop Virginius from N. York.

CLEARED, Brigs Jasper for New York, Elizabeth for Martinique, Leopard for Gaudaloupe, Schrs. Laura for Halifax, Wm. Henry for Porto Rico.

FAYETTEVILLE MARKET.

Cotton, $8 a 8 75. Bagging yard, 18 a 22. Bacon, 5½ a 7. Candles, mould, 14. Coffee 12 a 15. Corn, 40 a 45. Flour, $3 a 4, —Iron 5 a 6. Flaxseed, 75 a 80. Lard, 6. Lead, 6½ a 7. Shot, per bag, $2 a 2¼. Lime, 2 a 2 50. Molasses, 28 a 30. Nails, cut, 7 a 7½, wrought, 18 a 20. Oats, 25 a 27½. Sugar, common 8 a 8½, prime 10 a 11. Salt, Liverpool 65 a 70. Steel, American, 8 a 9. Tobacco, leaf, $3½ a 4. Ap. Brandy 28 a 30. Whiskey, 25 a 28. Wheat, 60 a 65.

U. S. Bank Notes par to ¼ pr cent. prem. Checks on the North ½ per cent. premium.

The Black Book.

A FEW copies of Mrs. Royall's celebrated *Black Book*, just received and for sale at the store of H. G. NELSON.

Fayetteville, Feb. 24.

W. Whitehead,

OFFERS FOR SALE

15 Hhds. good Sugar,
3 ditto. prime Coffee,
40 bags Coffee, some very low priced.
22 hhds. Molasses,
70 kegs cut Nails;
50 casks best quality Stone Lime,
20 bbls. Mackerel,
10 boxes window glass, 8 × 10.
8 bbls. green Copperas,
Alum and Liverpool Salt,
A good assortment of Castings,
Iron; American, and English,
Blistered & German Steel,
Cotton bagging and bale rope,
Powder, shot, and Lead,
Alum, Indigo, Madder and Logwood.

February 25, 1830.

Auction Sale.

ON Saturday the 27th instant, will be sold at the Town House in Fayetteville, to the highest bidder, the following *VALUABLE PROPERTY, viz.*

One House and Lot containing one quarter of an acre, now occupied by me as a shop in lower Fayetteville.

One House and Lot adjoining do., with Out Houses attached thereto, about half an acre.

One Lot opposite the same, joining Mr. G. Eccles, improved, Stable, &c. &c.

Lot No. 15, improved with small Dweling House on the river bank.

14 acres (more or less) of Land on North side of Person street, and bounded on the East by Davis street, subject to a reserve for Mark Russell's use during his natural life.

My interest in 17 acres of Land, on Russell street, formerly William Russell's residence.

My interest in the Mill now occupied by Mark Russell, Esq., below the half way bridge.

Terms made known at sale, which will take place at 12 o'clock, noon.

J. W. HOWELL, Jr.
H. W. AYER, *Auctioneer.*

February 25. 1w.

Notice well.—$20 Reward.

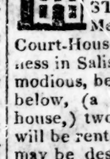
RANAWAY from the Subscriber, on the 10th of February 1830, a white mulatto slave named *CULLEN*, or *CULLEN MEDLEN*, as he calls himself. He is about 25 years old, 6 feet high, well made, weighs about 165; has a red neck, hands, and mouth, his hair is a little light and kinky, grey eyes, thick feet, flat like a negro's, a small cut by an axe on the inside of his great toe at the first joint on the right foot. Has a white hat, mixt coat, white streaked pantaloons. It is probable that he will alter his name, and attempt to pass among the lower class of white people as a free man. I think that he is at Wilmington, Fayetteville, or Newbern.

I will give the above reward for his delivery to me near Springhill, in Lenoir county, free of any other expense, or to have him secured in any jail so that I get him again.

WILLIAM ROUSE.

February 20, 1830—64-8t

Valuable Store House
FOR RENT.



THE subscriber will rent, possession to be given on the first of May next, his STORE, at present occupied by Kyles and Meenan, situated on the east corner of the Court-House square. It is the best stand for business in Salisbury, and the building is large and commodious, being 72 feet in length, with three rooms below, (a store-room, counting-room and warehouse,) two above, and a good cellar. The store will be rented for one year, or a term of years, as may be desired. To any person desirous of establishing himself in the Mercantile Business, in a flourishing and healthy village, situated in a rich and populous district of country, a better stand will rarely be offered.

For terms, apply on the premises to

ANDREW MATHIEU.

Salisbury, Feb. 15, 1830. 64-4w.

NOTICE.

The Virginia & N. Carolina
Transportation Company's Steam Boat
PETERSBURG, Capt. McRea,

WILL, in addition to her other duties, make a trip once a week, to and from Newbern, N. C., leaving Elizabeth City every Tuesday evening after the arrival of the Stage from Norfolk, and Newbern on every Friday, to commence running on Tuesday the 17th March next.

Fare for Passengers $8—Freight on moderate terms. Feb. 19—64-1m

Trust Sale.

BY and under the authority vested in me by the provisions contained in a Deed of Assignment, made by Elijah Everett of Cumberland county, dated the 10th day of June, 1829, I shall sell at Public Auction at the residence of said Everett, on Friday, the 19th day of March next, the following

PROPERTY, Viz.

500 acres of land, East side of Cape Fear river which did belong to said Everett, about thirteen miles below Fayetteville.

The right he had in 100 acres joining Richard Huckabee's land.

Also, 195 acres purchased at Sheriff's sale as the property of William Jordan.

Two likely NEGRO WOMEN.

One Wagon and Team,—together with sundry Hogs, Cattle, Sheep, Household and Kitchen Furniture, and other property too tedious to mention.

DONALD McQUEIN, *Trustee.*

Fayetteville, Feb. 17, 1830.—63-3t

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20 Casks unslacked LIME and 10 barrels Irish POTATOES, for sale by JOHN HUSKE.

February 17, 1830. 63-tf

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Cumberland County.

PURSUANT to a Decree of the Honourable the Court of Equity, made at Fall Term, 1829, in the case wherein John Drake & Wife, John McNeill, Adm'r of the estate of James Atkins, deceased, and others are petitioners, I will sell at Public Auction, at the Court House in Fayetteville, on Monday the 5th day of April next, between the hours of 11 o'clock, A. M., and 4 o'clock, P. M, the following *PROPERTY*, lying in Cumberland & Moore Counties or so much thereof as will satisfy the debt due by the Estate of James Atkins, deceased, to John McNeill, Adm'r thereof.

350 acres on Kenny's creek
300 on Buck creek including the crane pond
200 on Blacksmith's creek
450 on do do
300 on Sheffler's creek
100 on Thornton's creek
200 on Fish creek
300 on do
35 on Hugh's branch or creek
100 on Hector's creek
176 on Black river
288 on Puppy creek and Black river
150 joining Chatham line
100 on Reubens creek or branch
360 joining the above
440 also joining the above
50 on Black river
300 on Black river and Buie's creek
225 on Jones's creek & east side of Dobbins branch
267 on both sides the western prong of do do
50 on east side Dobbins branch
300 on Black river swamp
110 on the waters of Black river
340 on the waters of Kennys creek and Black river
500 on Harrison's creek, waters of Black river
200 on Black river
183 on east side of do.
200 on Black river
340 on do and on Sprawles road
340 on the beaver dam, waters of buckhorn and Parkers creek
120 joining the above, on Marsh branch
150 on the beaver dam
192 on do waters of buckhorn
35 on do
190 between Upper Little river and Cape Fear
1140 joining the above
250 on Upper Little river
47 joining Allen McLean
130 joining Solomon Walker
110 on upper side Upper Little river
500 on do do
289 on do do
108 on do do
90 on the Horsepen branch
640 on Sandy creek swamp
50 on Mockoson branch
400 on Harrison creek swamp
264 on Mill creek
330 on do
410 on the waters of Mill creek
200 between the two Little rivers
616 on the upper side Upper Little river
330 on north east and south west side Cape Fear
100 on both sides of Hector's creek
198 on Cape Fear
36 on the upper side of Upper Little river
225 on Hectors creek waters
50 on the upper side of do
100 on Moore county, including the cool spring
300 in do. on Tom's creek
200 in do. between Buffalo and Bear creeks
200 in do. on north side of Deep river

Terms liberal and will be made known on the day of sale.

W. F. STRANGE, *C. & M. E.*

February 15, 1830. 63-ts.

Just received and for sale,

13000 lbs. prime green Coffee,
15 hhds. Sugar,
3000 bushels Liverpool Salt,
450 do. very coarse,
10 bbls. tanner's Oil,
24 doz. white Bottles,
400 lb. Cotton Yarn, assorted Nos.
35 lb. Camphor.
4 oz. Sulphate of Quinine,
50 kegs Dupont's Powder.

HALL & JOHNSON.

Fayetteville, December 31, 1829. 56tf

New Establishment.

THE Subscribers beg leave to inform the public generally, that they have established a

Tin & Sheet Iron Ware Manufactory

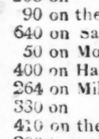
On the south side of Hay street, one door below the Mansion Hotel, under the firm of NOTT & SUMNER, where they will keep constantly on hand, a large and general assortment of all articles connected with their line, of superior workmanship, and at prices to suit the exigency of the times.

Orders from the country for any article in their line will be thankfully received, and promptly attended to.

WILLIAM NOTT,
JOSEPH SUMNER.

N. B. All kinds of Job Work, and Repairing neatly executed at the shortest notice. N. & S.

Fayetteville, November 19. 50-6m.



Grape Vines, Trees, Plants, &c.

WM. PRINCE, Proprietor of the Linnæan Botanic Garden, Flushing, Long Island, New York, has authorized the Subscriber to receive orders for the supply of Grape Vines, Trees, Plants, Shrubs, &c. Individuals wishing a supply of the above, are invited to call on the Subscriber and see the Catalogue and prices.

JAS. H. HOOPER.

February 10, 1830. 62-7w.

Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, &c.

JUST RECEIVED AND FOR SALE,

18 Hhds. Sugar,
25 do. superior Molasses,
15 bags green Coffee,
2 puncheons Jamaica Rum,
50 boxes No. 1 Soap,

By WILLKINGS & CO.

February 16. 62-4w.

Bank of Cape Fear.

19TH JANUARY 1830.

WHEREAS an act was passed at the last meeting of the General Assembly, touching the extension of the charter of the Bank of Cape Fear, under certain limitations and restrictions, to which, the assent of the Stockholders is required by a specified day—Therefore Resolved, that this meeting be adjourned, to meet at the Banking House in Wilmington, on the Second Tuesday in April next, being the 13th day of the Month, then and there to consider of the same; and of all other matters wherein the interests of the Bank of Cape Fear, are concerned; and to take such order thereon as may be deemed expedient.

Public Notice is hereby given of the above Resolution, of the Stockholders at their adjourned meeting in January last, to the intent that all concerned may be duly apprized thereof.

J. R. LONDON, President of the Bank of Cape Fear.

JOHN HILL, Cashier. 62-t10A

Brahmin Wine.

11 Cases containing two dozen each *MADEIRA WINE*, which has had the advantage of a voyage to the East Indies, a superior article, for sale at $10 per dozen. JOHN HUSKE.

February 10, 1830. 62-3w.

THE Subscribers offer for sale low for cash or country produce, the following articles, which comprise as general an assortment as can be found in this market, viz.

50 Hhds. Prime Sugars,
20 bbls. loaf and lump do.
165 bags prime green Coffee,
14 do Pepper and Spice,
140 kegs cut Nails,
25 do Brads,
25 hhds. prime retailing Molasses,
2 hhds. English Copperas,
1 hhd. Dutch Madder,
5 hhds. N. E. Rum,
1 hhd. old Jamaica Rum,
1 do. N. O Rum,
3 pipes Cogniac brandy,
2 pipes old Holland Gin,
Sweet and dry Malaga, Teneriffe & Sherry, Madeira and Port, } *WINES,*
1 cask Epsom Salts,
1 do. Alum,
2 ceroons Sp flt. Indigo,
20 bbls. Mackerel and Mullets,
20 boxes bar Soap, (Colgate's best.
30 do Windsor and variegated Soap,
5 casks Rice,
30 whole and half boxes Raisins,
40 casks fresh Thomastown Lime,
1000 bushels Liverpool Salt,
500 do. Alum do.
10 tons Swedes Iron.

Paints and Dye Stuffs,
Train, Lamp, Linseed, & Sweet Oils.
Crockery and Hollow Ware,
Patent Medicines,
Scotch and Maccaban Snuff,
Bale Rope and Bagging,

Trace chains, weeding hoes, bar lead and shot, curry combs, bed cords, plough lines, twine, shovels, hair and wire sifters, bonnet boards, mustard, Foolscap, letter and writing paper, tin plate, fur hats, smith's bellows, anvils and vices, with a great variety of other articles too tedious to enumerate.

HORTON, HUTTON & CO.

Fayetteville, January 28, 1830. 60tf.

KYLE & DAILEY.

THE Subscribers having formed a connection in business under the above Firm, respectfully announce to the public, that they have taken the brick Store on Hay Street, two doors East of the Lafayette Hotel, where they are now opening for sale, wholesale and retail, a large and well selected assortment of

Hardware & Cutlery

HATS, SHOES, &c.

They will also receive in a few days, a splendid assortment of

Earthenware.

They deem it unnecessary to enter into a detail of the various articles. ☞Country Merchants and others are invited to call and examine their assortment. They feel confident that all articles in their line will be found much cheaper than they have ever been offered in this market.

JAS. KYLE,
P. DAILEY.

Fayetteville, Nov. 11. 59tf.

SAMUEL FERGUSON,

RESPECTFULLY informs the public, that he has just returned from New York, where he laid in a large stock of

Dry Goods,

Groceries, Hardware, Shoes, &c.

Which he is now opening in the store lately occupied as a Hardware store by Mr. James Baker, on the South East corner of Market Square. He invites the inhabitants of Fayetteville and merchants and others of the interior, to call and examine his stock, which will be sold very low at wholesale or retail, for cash or country produce.

To Farmers.

S. F. has an excellent assortment of Negro Cloths and Shoes, to which he invites the attention of slave holders.

Fayetteville, Nov. 19. 50tf.

JUST RECEIVED,

1 Pipe Cogniac Brandy, of the very best quality.

THOMAS FOSTER,
Fashionable Tailor,

BEGS leave to inform the citizens of Fayetteville and the public in general, that he has recently returned from New York and Philadelphia, where he has obtained the LATEST AND MOST APPROVED *FASHIONS*, and has made arrangements to receive them, through his friends at the North, as often as they are imported.

He has taken the shop on Green street, near the Bridge, and next door to Mr. James H. Hooper's office, where all orders in his line will be thankfully received, and executed in the most fashionable style.

Sept. 22, 1829—42-tf

☞ Two or three apprentices to the above business would be taken. T. F.

Wanted Immediately,

TWO or three Journeymen Tailors. To steady, good workmen, liberal wages and constant employ will be given.

THOMAS FOSTER.

Fayetteville, December 3.

For Sale,

40 Kegs FFF. Gunpowder,
10 Barrels Loaf Sugar,
10 Ditto Linseed Oil.

WILLIAMSON WHITEHEAD.

August 20, 1829. 37tf.

Blanks for sale.

Valuable real Estate

FOR SALE.

WILL be sold, on the first day of March next, at Public Sale, at the Town House in Fayetteville, all the *REAL ESTATE* (the Banking House excepted) belonging to the State Bank of North Carolina, in Fayetteville and its vicinity, consisting of Lots or Parcels of Ground with their Buildings and Improvements, and tracts of Land following, viz.

One Lot of Ground containing about an acre, on the south side of Mumford street, with a large and elegant two story Dwelling House, a large Ware House in good repair, a Stable and other out Houses thereon, known as the Mumford Place.

One Lot at the corner of Person and Dick streets, with a large two story House, occupied as a store and dwelling, and a large two story Warehouse thereon, formerly Henry Branson's.

One unimproved Lot, having about sixty feet front on Winslow street, and running back about one hundred and twenty feet.

Two unimproved Lots, on Hillsborough street, a little north of Maiden lane, one having about 50 and the other about 66 feet front and running back about 100 feet.

One Lot with a large three story unfinished brick House, intended for two stores and dwellings, adjoining the Planter's Hotel, at the foot of Haymount, formerly Henry Branson's.

One Lot on Person street, with a large Warehouse thereon, rented to the Town as a public Flour Warehouse.

One Lot situate on a cross street between Person and Russell streets, with a handsome two story dwelling House, Kitchen, Garden, &c.

One Lot fronting on Person and Bow streets, a few yards east of the Town House, with a large Store House on each street, and convenient Warehouses back, formerly owned by Oliver Pearce.

One Lot with a convenient Warehouse thereon, and one or two vacant Lots adjoining situate between Gillespie and Dick streets, nearly opposite the State Bank, formerly Dun. Thompson's

Several Lots and Warehouses in Lower Fayetteville, and two well known and convenient Wharves, all lately Duncan Thompson's.

A Lot with a two story House of two tenements, fronting on Hay street opposite the Mansion Hotel, and running back to old street, formerly Col. Clark's.

That elegant and desirable Residence on Hay Mount called the Mac Millan Place, with about twelve acres of ground. The Dwelling House is large and commodious, commanding a fine view of the town. The Garden and Out Houses have lately undergone considerable repair. This place is admirably calculated for a Summer Seat or permanent residence for persons leaving the low country in pursuit of health.

1120 acres of tolerably timbered Land, within two miles of Fayetteville, with an excellent Mill Seat, on a never failing stream running through the land, formerly the property of John Hadly.

640 acres of Land on Beaver Creek, within six miles of Fayetteville, formerly L. Newby's.

122 acres of Land, a little North West of Hay Mount, within a mile and a half of town, offording several healthy and pleasant situations for building, on which there are excellent Springs.

1081 acres of well wooded Sandhill Land, within four miles of Fayetteville, well calculated for summer residences, formerly John McKay, Jun's.

A Plantation of 300 acres of first rate Land on the East side of Cape Fear river, about 3 miles below Fayetteville, formerly Thomas Davis's

50 acres of Land on the East side of Cape Fear, about 15 miles below Fayetteville, adjoining Lands belonging to the heirs of John Thames.

Very liberal credit will be given to the purchasers; particular terms made known at sale, which will be made by order of the President and Directors of said Bank.

DUNCAN CAMERON, *President.*

Raleigh, January 14, 1830. 59ts.

Money Lost.

ON Friday last, the Subscriber, while travelling in the stage from Raleigh to Fayetteville, lost a packet of money and papers, the precise sum not known, but believed to be between two and three hundred dollars, consisting of Treasury Notes, several one dollar Newbern Bills, two dollar State Bank bills, several five and ten dollar State Bank bills, and five and ten dollar bills on South Carolina Banks; 4 or 5 ten dollar bills on the United States Bank, one distinctly recollected to be signed by John Huske, and one by Jones. Also, a five dollar Cheraw bill, folded in a paper, and endorsed D. Mask, to whom it belongs. There was also a Justice's Judgment for $90, in favor of Stackburgher's Executors against Mr. Legrand of Anson, with credits thereon.

The whole was folded in a sheet of blank paper, and snugly tied up. A liberal reward will be paid to the person finding the same, and delivering it to the Editors of the Register, Raleigh, the Editor of the Observer, Fayetteville, or to the Subscriber.

GEO. C. MENDENHALL.

Jan. 13. Guilford county, N. C.

New Goods.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,

HAS just received from New York and Philadelphia, and is now opening, an extensive supply of

FALL AND WINTER GOODS,

Purchased on the most advantageous terms, and are now offered by wholesale or retail, at very low prices for cash. He respectfully invites purchasers to call and examine his assortment, which consists of

Dry Goods, Hardware,
Groceries, Choice Liquors,
Glass and Crockery Ware, &c.

Fayetteville, N. C., Oct. 8, 1829. 44tf.

HAT AND SHOE STORE.

Hoyt & Sturges,

NORTH EAST CORNER OF MARKET SQUARE,

HAVE just received an additional supply of Shoes and Hats, which, with their former stock, makes their assortment of both very complete. Among their Stock are the following articles:

A general assortment of gentlemen's Hats, black and drab, some of very superior quality,
Gentleman's fine calf Brogans,
Do do low quarters,
Do do and Morocco Pumps,
Do Kip Shoes,
Boys' fine calf, high and low quarters,
Ladies' prunella Boots,
Do do and coloured Shoes and Pumps,
Do do Morocco Shoes,
Misses' do do.
Ladies seal skin and leather Shoes,
And a large assortment of coarse Shoes,
Shoe Brushes and Blacking.

All of which will be sold on as reasonable terms as any Goods of the same quality can be had in this place, wholesale or retail. Purchasers are invited to call and examine for themselves.

January 28, 1830. 60-13w.

Lafayette Hotel,

HAY STREET,
FAYETTEVILLE, N. CAROLINA.

RICH'D COCHRAN

HAS taken the above Stand recently occupied by Mr. Wm. Tracy, and respectfully solicits a share of public patronage; the conducting of this Establishment is placed under the superintendance and control of his

Father and Mother,

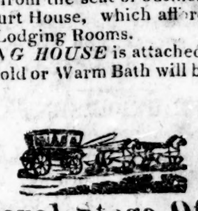
Who will endeavor to give general satisfaction. The Hotel is in a central situation, spacious and well furnished.

He deems it unnecessary to expatiate upon the various inducements which this House presents to Travellers, or to make a profession of extraordinary merit on the occasion.

For *BOARDERS* or *TRAVELLERS* who wish to be retired, there is a House detached from the Hotel, not far from the seat of business and contiguous to the Court House, which affords comfortable and pleasant Lodging Rooms.

A *BATHING HOUSE* is attached to the premises, where a Cold or Warm Bath will be furnished on short notice.

July 31. 82-tf.



General Stage Office.

THE *only* general authorized Stage Office is kept at the above Hotel, which the following Stages arrive at and depart from, *by order of the Proprietors:*

Camden, Columbia, Augusta, Charleston, Raleigh, and Petersburg Stages, daily.

Norfolk Stage, departs every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, arrives Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday.

Wilmington Stage, departs Monday, Wednesday and Friday, arrives Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

Western Stage, Rockingham, Wadesborough, &c arrives on Thursday and departs on Saturday.

Passengers are certain of securing seats in any of the above Stages, and receiving correct information as to the several routes. R. COCHRAN.

☞As statements have been made, and are made, calculated to deceive and mislead the Public, and Travellers particularly, the Proprietor of the above Hotel, with the consent and approbation of the Proprietors of the Several Stages, subjoins the following certificates:

Mr. Cochran,—We have received your note of this date, and have in reply to say, that we consider the Lafayette Hotel as our Stage Office, agreeably to our letter to you of the 1st August, 1828.

C. & P. MALLETT,
Proprietors of Charleston, Camden, and Tarborough Stages.

March 28, 1829.

The Lafayette Hotel is our only authorised Stage Office where seats can be taken.

O. & D. SALTMARSH,
Proprietors Raleigh and Petersburg Stages.
R. W. LATIMER,
Proprietor Wilmington Stage.
D. A. DAVIS,
Agent Western Stage.

Fayetteville, April 2, 1829.

Anson Hotel,

WADESBOROUGH, N. CAROLINA.

THE Subscriber returns his grateful acknowledgments to his friends and the public generally, for the liberal support he has heretofore received, and in soliciting a continuance of those favors, assures those who may visit this place in Court weeks, as well as Travellers and persons of pleasure, that they will find at this Establishment comfortable accommodations; his arrangements being such as to enable him in future to devote more of his own personal attention to the Establishment; he therefore begs leave to assure all those who may have the goodness to call on him, that no pains will be spared on his part, to render their situation as comfortable as possible.

His Table will be furnished with the best the country and market affords. His Bar will be constantly supplied with the choicest of Domestic Liquors. His Stables are large, and shall be attended with experienced and honest Ostlers, and the best provender, &c INGOE D. CASH.

Wadesborough, Feb. 4. 1829. 10tf

JAMES MARTINE,

COPPER, TIN, & SHEET IRON MANUFACTURER,

Hay Street, a few doors east of Mess. Hall & Johnson,

BEING thankful for the liberal encouragement he has received, begs leave to inform his friends and the public, that he has commenced the Tin business, and having employed first rate workmen, flatters himself that he will be enabled to give satisfaction to all who may favor him with their custom. He has on hand, and offers on the most reasonable terms, *STILLS* of various sizes, from 35 to 120 gallons, Hatter's Kettles and Stampers, a general assortment of Brazier's Copper and Bottoms Bolt Copper, Copper and Iron Rivets, Rod Iron from 3-16 to 7-8, also Sheet Iron, and every article in his line, with a general assortment of

Copper & Tin Ware,

And will continue to manufacture, of the best materials and workmanship, every article in his line, at a short notice. ☞ Orders from the Country thankfully received and promptly attended to.

☞ Cash paid for old Copper and Pewter.

Fayetteville, Nov. 24—51-tf

Wanted,

A First rate *TIN PLATE WORKER.* To such an one constant employment and liberal wages will be given by applying to JAMES MARTINE.

January 28.

Fifty Dollars Reward.

RANAWAY

FROM the Subscriber, on the 29th ult. a likely Negro Fellow, named George, about 30 years old, rather below the ordinary size, thin visage, had when he left, a considerable quantity of good clothing, a watch, and makes, on occasions, an imposing appearance, supposed to have a free pass, and no doubt considerable money, for whose apprehension and delivery I will give fifty dollars, and for the conviction of any person harboring him, or evidence sufficient for conviction before a court of justice, I will give twenty five dollars.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

Rockingham, Richmond county, Jan. 16—60tf

Molasses.

20 Hhds superior Surrinam MOLASSES,

For sale by WILLKINGS & CO.

February 4, 1830. 61tf.

Mansion Hotel,

HAY STREET, FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA.

L. JUDD PARDEE,

Formerly of JUDD'S, and recently of the CITY HOTEL, *PHILADELPHIA,*

RESPECTFULLY announces to the public, that he has rented the *MANSION HOTEL*, situate in the centre of business in this town, and that the same is now open for the reception of Boarders and Travellers.

The Premises have been, lately, completely repaired and painted. The extensive range of Parlors, Dining, Dancing, and Bar Rooms are all newly furnished. The Chambers supplied with *New Beds and Bedding*, and the Stables well provided with Feeder and Grain and faithful Ostlers. His Bar contains the choicest Wines and Liquors, selected by himself in Philadelphia, and his Larder will afford at all times, the best provisions of the market and delicacies of the seasons, while his *charges will be moderate* to suit the difficulty of the times.

Having had long experience in two well known Hotels in Philadelphia, and intending to devote his entire attention to this establishment, he assures the Traveller and the Public, every exertion, with the advantage of that experience, is pledged for their comfort, repose, and gratification, and for the good management of the Mansion Hotel.

General Stage House.

THE following daily Stages arrive at and depart from the Mansion Hotel, viz: Charleston, Georgetown; Cheraw, Camden, Columbia, and Augusta, and Tarborough and Norfolk Lines. The Norfolk Line departs on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and arrives Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays. Rooms and other comforts are at all times ready for all Stage Passengers and Families or private conveyances passing through this place with moderate charges, to suit the difficulty of the times.

L. JUDD PARDEE.

Fayetteville, North Carolina, March 31, 1829.

☞As statements have been made to mislead Stage Travellers, and prejudice them against this Hotel, the Subscriber subjoins the following note from Messrs. C. & P. Mallett, Proprietors of the Norfolk, Charleston, and Camden Lines of Stages:

Fayetteville, 31st March, 1829.

Mr. L. JUDD PARDEE: *Dear Sir:* We have received your letter on the subject of our Stages, and have in reply to say, that any Passengers from the Mansion Hotel shall be as much assured of their seats as from any other House, and our Drivers are instructed to call regularly for them, and to carry such Passengers there as may choose to go.

We are, respectfully,
C. & P. MALLETT.

A neat BATHING ESTABLISHMENT has just been added to the Hotel, where *Cold and Warm BATHS* will be furnished at short notice.

July 16. 32tf.

Coach, Saddle, and Harness Making.

THE undersigned respectfully inform the public, that having entered into copartnership in the above branches of business, they will continue the Saddle and Harness Making in the house now occupied by David L. Evans, two doors west of Liberty Point, and the Coach Making Business in the house one door west of Mr Cade's Tavern. They pledge themselves, that all work entrusted to their care in either of the above lines of business shall be promptly, neatly, and substantially executed, having employed first rate workmen in the different branches.

DAVID L. EVANS,
JAMES SUNDY.

Fayetteville, Feb. 1, 1830.—61-tf

Sheriff's Sale for Taxes.

ON Monday the 1st day of March next, I will sell at the Court House Door, in the Town of Fayetteville, the following *TRACTS OF LAND*, lying in the Districts of Lock's Creek, Flea Hill, Willis Creek, Rockfish, and 71st District, or so much thereof as will be sufficient to pay the Taxes due thereon for the year 1828, together with all costs and charges, viz:

Lock's Creek District.

148 acres on Sandy creek, listed by David Horne, tax due, $0 88
200 on do. by Abraham Leaden, 80
490 joining Autery and others, 300 manor plantation, 200 on Cape Fear joining McAlister, listed by Henry Nunnery, 13 17
50 on Burkhorn, by Merida Odum, 1 30
110 on do by Malcom Purcell, 1 00

Flea Hill District.

1007 on Horsepen branch and 44 joining D. McNeill, by John Carouth, 1 25
200 on do. do. by John Davis 1 36
575 on Great & Little creek, by Jas Geddie 1 69
199 on Flat Swamp, by Bryant Guy, 76
100 joining Henry Elliott, by Ezekiel King, 2 75
128 joining Matthew King, by Jos. N. King, 2 54
840 on Bain's Marsh, by Alex'r McPhail, 3 49
460 joining Carouth, by do do. for the heirs of John McPhail, 57
266 joining H. Griffin, by Mary McCorquedale 1 01
75 Swamp, by John Norman, 71
100 on Mingo joining Trapwell, by John Pope, 79
18 joining Henry Elliott, by Joshua Taylor, 81
50 joining Gardner and others, unlisted, the estate of John McKay, 57

Willis Creek District.

143 on Cape Fear, by Daniel Butler, 4 08
300 west side C. F. Gray's crk, by Wm Brantly 4 06
200 joining D. Thames, by Jas. Chapman, 76
222 on Dunn's Creek, and 1 unimproved Lot, Fayetteville, Cool Spring, by B. Chapman, 7 50
195 joining Thames, by Wm. Jordan, 74
156 east side Cape Fear, by Thos. Taylor, 3 38

JOHN BLACK, Sh'ff.
By A. BLACK, D. S.

Rockfish District.

330 Rockfish & Gillis branch, by Dunc Black, 3 68
200 Rockfish, by Nancy Campbell, 76
200 ditto by William Carman, 76
970 ditto & Jumping gully, 100 on falls Rockfish, 3000 on big and little Rockfish, 180 Rockfish Mills, due for 1827 and 1828, by Thomas Davis, 28 76
100 Little Rockfish, by Thomas Davis for the estate of Wilkinson, 19
150 Broad branch, by Duncan Mac Arthur, 57
45 Camden road, by Elizabeth Newberry, 24
1462½ Beaver creek, by Malcom McPherson, 7 12
90 Sandy Run, by William Simmons, 9 94
500 joining the Ellison survey, by Samuel and Alexander Williams, 2 50
81 Espie's creek, by Jno. Mac Neill, 89

Seventy-First District.

2800 Beaver creek, by D. Kay, 7 56

JOHN BLACK, Sh'ff.
By D. GILLIS, D. S.

December 31, 1829